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# INDIAN LINGUISTICS

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# INDIAN LINGUISTICS

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## A STUDY OF BENGALI SURNAMES

### CHAPTER I

#### Introductory

The study of Bengali surnames is a matter of not a little difficulty. Our sources of information about the origin of these surnames are very rarely reliable; this is on account of the fact that they are generally of traditional nature, and as such have little historical value. The epigraphical records are the most authentic sources no doubt, but their number is not sufficient enough to enable us to have a direct and full reference to the subject. Literary records such as the *Kula-pañjikās* are vitiated by obvious partiality and by a complete lack of historical sense on the part of their writers. Moreover they were written at different times by writers with conflicting class interests and opinions. As a result these records have been filled with all sorts of curious theories and errors in the course of centuries, and the study of the origin and successive stages of development of Bengali surnames has indeed become an extremely difficult and confusing matter at the present time.

Bengali surnames are still in a process of change, and confusion between castes and surnames, due to formation of new castes, is a common phenomenon of present-day social life in Bengal. Educated and cultured people with harsh-sounding and not very exalted surnames feel rather

ashamed of their surnames. Sometimes it so happens that their surnames stand as a disqualification in their way of social success. This frequently happens when a person of a lower caste becomes educated and an aspirant of a social uplift.

Generally, among the higher artisan and lower working classes in Bengal, the name of the caste is used as the surname; such as *Karmakār*, *Sātradhar*, *Svarṇakār*, *Rajak*, *Dom*, *Dulc* etc. If any person of any of the various labouring castes, the majority of which till recently had little education, gets some education and so obtains easy access to the higher society, he is often tempted to change his surname for an innocuous one, as he feels that his surname may be a constant reminder of his humble origin. In a large number of cases, such persons are known to have changed their surnames for a non-specific but respectable one such as *Rāy*, *Biśwās*, *Dās* etc. I know of a *Bāgḍī* who changed his surname to *Sātarā* (<OIA. *Sāmanta-rāja*), just after his entrance into the railway service as a switchman.

Such change of surnames is occasionally followed by a surreptitious change of caste as well. There is a large number of non-specific surnames in Bengal which are used by people of different castes. And taking advantage of these surnames (eg. *Rāy*, *Biśwās*, *Dās* etc.), persons are known to have managed to change their castes for a higher one.

## CHAPTER II

### Origin of Surnames

In modern times Bengali personal names consist of three separable parts: the proper or personal name, a second part which is used to embellish or complete the proper name, called the *pādānta*, and the surname or family name. Surnames generally indicate the caste.

But, as has been said in the previous chapter, the relation between castes and surnames has in some cases been hopelessly confused in Bengal among both Brahmans and non-Brahmans. So it is sometimes difficult to know the caste from one's surname.

Confusion of castes and surnames among Bengali Brahmans and non-Brahmans had its full play in the Muhammadan period when official titles of persons employed in state service began to be used as surnames by both Brahmans and non-Brahmans, e.g., *Taraf-dār*, *Munsī* (*Munṣī*), *Bakṣī* (*Bakṣī*) etc.

Surnames as we know them now are a later development. In ancient times personal names consisted of two inseparable parts combined into one, that is, a compound. This probably reflected, to some extent, the custom of naming persons in the primitive Indo-European period. This was the practice in Old and Early Middle Indo-Aryan, and so we find it in early epigraphical records in Bengal and elsewhere.

From the Smṛtiṣ and Purāṇas, compiled during the Gupta period, we find instances of generic surnames as used by Brahmans, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas and Sūdras. From these works we find that *Śarman*, *Varman*, *Gupta* and *Dāsa* were used as generic surnames of the above four castes during the Gupta period.<sup>1</sup>

At a subsequent period this system changed a little and the second parts or the *pādāntas* began to be used in common in all the names of a family or a particular group of people. That is, the same *pādānta* was used in all the names of a family. This system is particularly noticeable in the 5th century A. C. In the absence of any earlier

1. Cf. Sarmavad brāhmaṇasya syād Rājño rakṣā-samanvītam;  
Vaiśyasya puṣṭi-samyuktam Sūdrasya praiśya-samyutam

—Manu-saṃhitā

Sarmavad brahmaṇasyoktam varmeti kṣatra-samyutam:

\*Gupta-dāsātmakam nāma prasastam Vaiśya-Sūdryaḥ.

—Viṣṇu-purāṇa

records we do not know whether it originated in this century or earlier. It should be noted however that these *pādāntas* were used both by Brahmans and non-Brahmans alike. These *pādāntas* generally consisted of some names of animals such as *Hastin*, *Siṃha*, *Nāga* etc., or some names of celestial bodies or gods as *Candra*, *Soma*, *Āditya*, *Mitra* etc., or some words indicating strength, power or superiority as *Varman*, *Yaśaḥ*, *Bala* etc.

At a period later than this, this system underwent further change. And by the end of the 6th century A.C. we find these two parts which were formerly inseparable having a tendency to be split up into two. The latter or the second part which now became independent of the first part or the 'proper' name began to be used by the non-Brahmans as what we know to be surnames in modern times, while the Brahmins added honorific words like *Svāmīn*, *Sarman*, *Ācārya*, *Paṇḍita* etc. to their names to indicate their superiority in station and caste. At a subsequent period new *pādāntas* came in between these two parts (the name and the surname) as a further embellishment.

Though this separation of the *pādāntas* to be used as surnames became a distinct fact in the 6th century, yet the tendency of these two parts to be separated is noticeable in the 4th century or even earlier. Besides those which were originally parts of personal names, there are other surnames, originating from different sources such as place-names, occupations, official titles or designations, names of protecting deities, castes etc.

### *Place Names*

Surnames originating from place names are called *gāñis* (<*grāmika*): 'belonging to a village'. Such surnames are used mainly by Bengali Brahmans. From a study of these names we find that these place-names in their turn originated from names of plants, trees, animals, names of families, or from some separated parts of personal

names which had transformed into surnames. Sometimes it happened that names of some *gotras* or clans were used as place names. This is due to the fact that villages were granted to a person or persons belonging to those *gotras*. Thus the village *Nikhāṭi* was granted to persons belonging to *Bharadvāja gotra*. In the course of time these *gotra* names were replaced by the name of the place. This use of place-names as surnames was in full force in the 12th century.

### *Occupational Names*

A large number of surnames used by both Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Bengal are derived from terms denoting the different occupations. Originally these surnames were some official titles or designations, civil or military, but subsequently after the analogy of these title names, names of animals, plants and articles of trade with which an individual was originally connected were used as surnames. This practice had its full play in the fifteenth and the following two centuries when quite a number of Persian titles came into use as surnames for both the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin people of Bengal.

### *Animal Names*

As has been said before, a number of animal-names are used as surnames in Bengal. Some of them were probably occupational, but others were added to personal names to denote strength, power or superiority.

### *Names of Protecting Deities*

A number of Bengali surnames certainly originated from names of deities or deified celestial bodies. This practice is probably connected with ancient Vedic worship, and has perhaps received support from some of the *Gṛhya-sūtras* which recommend the use of *Nakṣatra-nāmāni*. Personal names with such names of gods and celestial bodies are found in ancient Indian inscriptions. Thus in the



votive inscriptions from the Sanchi *stūpas* (kākânāda) we find names like *Pusini* (<*Puṣya*) *Rohiṇi* (<*Rohiṇī*), *Svātīguta* (*Svātī-gupta*), *Yama-rakhita* (=°*rakṣita*), *Agisamā* (*Agniśarmā*), *Bahadata* (=°*Brahmadatta*), etc.

### *Caste Names*

Caste names are used as surnames only by the people of artisan and working classes in Bengal. A number of these caste names are originated from occupation, e.g. *Karmakār*, *sūtradhar* etc. and are Sanskrit, but there are other caste names which are obviously non-Aryan, e.g. *Kōc*, *Col* etc. These non-Aryan caste names appear to have originated from names of tribes which were settled in the country before the advent of the Aryan language. Their tribal names have now been transformed into surnames in modern times. In the *Brahma-vairarta Purāṇa* a number of common Bengal castes have been mentioned as *varṇa-saṅkara* or mixed castes.

## CHAPTER III

### **Brahmans in Bengal**

From literary accounts such as the *Kula-paṇjikās* we learn that Brahmans were first brought to Bengal by a king named Ādi-śūra. It is said that Ādi-śūra brought five Brahmans and five Kāyasthas from Kanauj who settled in villages which were granted to them by the king. Tradition also has it that most of the Brahmans and Kāyasthas of Bengal are the descendants of these immigrants from Kanauj.

But from the historical viewpoint this assertion of the *Kula-paṇjikās* is absolutely untenable. Ādi-śūra according to the *Kulapaṇjikās* ascended the throne in 732 A.C. (*VSPP.*, XI, p. 117; and *VJI* pt. i, pp 101-2), but no trace of his name occurs any where in the inscriptions which

have been discovered so far. In epigraphical records we find mention of one Raṇa-śūra who was the king of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha (South Rāḍha) at the time when Rājendra Cola invaded that country (10th-11th century, *EL.*, IX, p. 232). Another king, Lakṣmī-sūra, is mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara-nandin, but he does not seem to have been a king. Whether these two persons were related in any way or whether they had any relation with the mythical Ādi-śūra cannot be ascertained.

Moreover we find evidence to the effect that prior to the time when Ādi-śūra is said to have ascended the throne, Brahmans were already settled in Bengal. At the time of Bhūti-varman, a large number of Brahmans of different *gotras* are found to have existed in a village in Kāmarūpa. This village is supposed to have existed in the North-East corner of modern Bengal. (See *KS.*, p. 3).

The late Mr. N. Basu in his *VJI* mentions a class of Brahmans known as 'Puṣkara' Brahmins who, according to him became powerful in West Bengal during the time of Candra-varman of the Susunia Hill inscription (c. 400 A.C.). Candra-varman was the king of Puṣkaraṇā, now the village Pokharnā on the Damodar in Bankura. (See S. K. Chatterji, *ODBL.*, vol. I, p. 75, and *Bhāratavarṇa* for Jyaisṭha, 1330, p. 832). He had nothing to do with Puṣkara in Rajputana, as Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstri and Rakhal Das Banerji supposed.

Basu mentions another class of Brahmans known as Saptasatis who existed in Rāḍha in the 8th century. These people were bereft of true Brahmanical qualities and hence they have not been spoken of highly in the *Kula-pañjikās*. These Saptasatis had, it is said, matrimonial connection with those who came from Kanauj. Their descendants subsequently settled in different villages in Bengal and were classified according to the names of those places as Rāḍhīya, Vārendra, etc. (*VJI.*, vol. 3, pt. I, pp. 10-11). • But no historical support of this contention is forthcoming.

CHAPTER V<sup>1</sup>**Surnames from Parts of Personal Names**

It has been already mentioned that in ancient times personal names consisted of two inseparable parts connected into one. From epigraphical records of the 5th century A.C. and upwards we find ample instances of this practise in naming persons. Surname as we know it now, was entirely unknown in those days. As surnames are now generally indicative of the caste, it is not possible to determine the caste of persons whose names are recorded in ancient inscriptions except in cases where it is definitely mentioned.

From a close study of the names found in those records, we find that a large number of words which are used as surnames in modern times, (e.g. *Datta*, *Ghoṣa*, *Pālita*, *Rakṣita* etc.) have been used as the *pādāntas* or the second parts of those names. Thus from names like *Arahadata* (<*Arhaddatta*), *Dhamaguta* (<*Dharmagupta*), *Dhamarakṣita* (<*Dharmarakṣita*), *Dhamapālita* (<*Dharmapālita*), *Saṅghadeva* (<*Sanṅghadeva*), *Siripāla* (<*Śrīpāla*) [votive inscriptions. from the Sanchi stūpas 300-202 B. C; EI. II p. 87, 114], *Bṛhadratha*, *Jayadratha* [*Mahābhārata*], *Indraviṣṇu*, *Hariviṣṇu* [5th century A.C., Gupta Inscrs.] etc. we find words like *Datta*, *Gupta*, *Rakṣita*, *Pālita*, *Ratha*, *Viṣṇu* etc. which are used as surnames in Bengal in modern times, to be used as the second parts of names in ancient times.

At a period later than this, we find that one and the same *pādānta* was used in all the names of a particular family. Thus in 484 A.C. we find mention of the names of two brothers *Mātr-viṣṇu* and *Dhanya-viṣṇu* sons of *Hari-viṣṇu*. *Hariviṣṇu* was the son of *Varuṇa-viṣṇu* and grandson of *Indra-viṣṇu* [FGI. p. 89]. In this way words which were used as the common *pādāntas* of the names in a family became fossilised. At this stage it was quite

1. Chapter IV [Non-Brahmans in Bengal] is left unwritten.

natural for different families to be identified by the different *pādāntas*, used along with the names of their members. This was the first step of these *pādāntas* towards their transformation into surnames.

From inscriptional records of the 6th century A.C. these two parts of personal names appear to be used as two separate words. Thus in the Malla-sārul Copper-plate inscription of Gopa [Candra] and Vijayasena (6th century A.C.), we find mention of a number of personal names as *Hima-Datta*, *Ṣaṣṭhī-Datta*, *Suvarṇa-yaśaḥ* etc. [vide *Calcutta Review*, March 1938. p. 363-4] F. E. Pargiter who translated a number of inscriptions of the 6th century, expresses his opinion on the separation of the *pādāntas* of personal names occurring in one of them, which runs thus,—‘The names of the Mahattaras in this inscription do not appear to be compound words, in which the component parts depend on one another,.....but seem to consist of two separate words in juxtaposition. Hence we may with full propriety write them as *Vatsa Kuṇḍa*, *Śuci Pālita*, *Vihita Ghoṣa*, *Priya Datta*, *Janārddana Kuṇḍa* and perhaps *Jiva Datta* may be so treated. Hence it appears that in these names we find four of the Caste-Surnames which are common in Bengal now, namely *Kuṇḍa* (modern *Kuṇḍu*), *Pālita*, *Ghoṣa* and *Datta*’—[JASB. 1911, p. 501]. From what has been said above we can fairly conclude that this separate use of the second parts was in full force in the 6th century, though the tendency is noticeable as early as the 4th century from the names of the Gupta kings (e. g. *Candra-gupta*, *Samudra-gupta* etc.). In absence of older records it can not be said with certainty whether this tendency was noticeable at an earlier period.

At a subsequent period new *pādāntas* were inserted between these two parts and personal names came to consist of these three separable parts, as we find them now.

Surnames which have been originated from such secreted parts of personal names may be classified in the following order :—

1. *Names of gods, deities or celestial bodies—*

Āie<Āditya.

Indra.

Gaṇa<'attendants of Śiva.'

Canda<Candra.

Candra—same as Canda, *tatsama* form.

De<Deva.

Deb<same as De, *semitatsama* form.

Mitra, the sun god. In the proper name *Mihira* (Mihir) is a borrowing from its middle Iranian cognate.

Ruj<Rudra (?)

Rudra—same as Ruj; *tatsama*.

Roj—same as Ruj.

Vasu 'a class of minor deities.'

Viṣṇu.

Soma—'Moon-god'

Homa<Soma, from an East Bengal dialect.

2. *Words denoting strength, power of superiority—*

Kīrtti—'fame'

Pai<Pati—'lord'

Pait<Pati—*semitatsma*, or *tadbhava* from pavitra.

Bai<Pati—originated after the change of intervocalic-  
p- to -b-.

Bardhan = Vardhana—'increase'

Bala—'power'

\*Boi—same as 'Bai'

Bhadra—'auspicious'

Yaśa<Yaśah—'fame'

Bajar<Vajra 'thunder'; *semitatsama*.

Sakti—'strength'

Sāi<Svāmin—'master.'

Śūr<Śura—'valiant.'

Sām<Svāmin>Sāmi>Sāim>Sām,

sanskritised as Śyām; *semi-tatsama*.

3. *Words implying protection or favour from duties—*

Gut<Gupta; 'protected'; *tadbhava*

Gupta—same as Gut

Guha, a name of Kārttikeya.

Guṛa<Gūḍha 'protected'

Datta "bestowed"

Dāma<Dāman 'bountiful.'

Dāsa 'servant'

Dā<Dāman, *tadbhava*

Nātha='master.'

Nāhā<Nath + āka

Pāla 'protector'

Pālita 'protected'

Prasāda 'favour'

Bandhu 'friend'

Rakṣita 'protected'

Dhavaḷa 'white>favour'

Lāhā—same as Nāhā

Śaraṇa 'protection, refuge.'

Kṣema 'well being'

Tāraṇa 'saviour'

Dhara 'holder>protector'

Nanda, Nandin 'delighter'

Nād<nanda; *tadbhava*

Viśvāsa 'faith'

Śīla '(good) conduct'

Hui<-bhūti 'prosperity'

Toṣa 'delight'

Arjuna 'white>favour'

Kara 'made>protected (?)'

Ghoṣa 'fame'

Pān, Pāin<pāṇi 'palm>protection'

4. *Names of animals—*

Āśa<Āśva—'horse'

Nāga 'elephant'

Śi<Simha 'lion'; *tadbhava*; or<Śiva (?)

Siṃha—lion; *tatsama*.

Hāit < hāti < hastin 'elephant'; *semītatsama*

Haṭi < Hastin; *tadbhava* The form 'Haṭi' is due to the influence of English orthography and for avoidance of the name hāti—elephant;

Hāti—same as Haṭi Hāit.

Hās < Haṃsa 'gander'

Hāsi < Haṃsa + ika.

Hēs < Hāis < Hāsi; an unlauted form of the above.

Heś = Hēs

### 5. *Miscellaneous*—

Kuṇḍa

Keśa

Giri

Tā < Tāpa (?)

cf. Kṛṣṇadvārika ins. GM. p. 112

Bid < Bindu

Ratha—'chariot' cf. Monoratha. GM. p. 146.

Sar—cf. Tathāgata Sara. GM. p. 148

## CHAPTER VI

### Occupative Surnames

A large number of Bengali surnames originated from different occupations or official titles. It will be seen that a number of them were originally Persian, which originated during the Muhammadan period when people were employed in the court and were known by their official titles, instead of their original surnames. In this way considerable number of surnames which were originally Bengali were replaced by Persian titles.

Occupative surnames may be classified in the following order:—

#### 1. *Tools, arms and soldiery*—

Karāti < Karapatra + ika

Khāndāit < khaṇḍa; cf. Bengali khārā "sword."

Khāṅgrā < khaṅga-

Dhāli < Bengali dhāla—“shield”

Tūṇ < tuṇa “quiver.”

Dhaṇu < dhanuṣ “arrow.”

Dhārā < Bengali dhāta “warrior.”

Dhārī—Same as Dhārā

Naskar—(Pers.-Arab.). “army-leader.”

Phaujdār—(Pers.-Arab) “leader of an army”

Varmā < varman.

Bala—army cf. Balādhyakṣa, in Khālimpur insc. of  
Dharmapāla. (G. M.)

Bhāñja—< √ bhanj; “defeater of the army” A Pktic.  
form.

Bhaṛ < Bhaṛā < bhr̥ta—a “Soldier.”

Laskar—Same as ‘Naskar’

Sāsmal—< Skt. Sahasramalla

Sarkhel (Pers.-Arab.)

Sardār (Pers.-Arab) “leader.”

Sānū (< Skt. Sannāhaka) “a soldir in military kits.”

Sānūi (< Skt. Sannāhika); see above.

Sāmanta “a vassal.”

Sāhānā < Skt. Sannāha + āka. See ‘Sānū’

Sātarā (< Sāmanta rāja) “a vassal.”

Senāpati “an army commander.”

Haṛ < MIA Bhaṭa, in compounds; secreted only after  
the change of intervocalic—bh- to -ha-

Hāldār (Pers. hāwālā-dār), a military officer.

Hājirā (< Pers. Hāzār) “one in charge of a thousand  
soldier.”

Hājārī—same as ‘Hājirā.’

Hāl sālā—Hāl + Sannāha (corselet).

Hōṛ—same as ‘Haṛ’.

## 2. Words relating to civil administration—

Adhikārī “a superintendent.”

Ābasathī, Abastī, Abasthi < Skt. Āvasathika—“super-  
visor of residences.” cf. M. G.



Ukil (Pers.-Arab.)

Karui, Karui<Kaṭuka + ika

Karuri

Karuli

Kalmā<Pers.-Arab. Kalam-(pen).-

Kānungo (Perso-Arab.)

Kārkun (,,)

Kārpharmā (,,) kār + farmā 'Disposer or Orderer of business.'

Kārphā (,,)

Kāhāli 'drummer'; cf. Bengali Kāhāl, 'drum'

Kāṭhal<Kāṇthāla<Kaṇṭha-pāla;—"in charge of a frontier garrison."

Kumāra "prince"; *tatsama*.

Koṇā—same as kumār; *semitatsama*.

Kolē>Skt. Kulika. cf. 'Prathama kulika' 5th Corper plate ins. of Damodarpur (6th century) EI. XV—p. 142-3.

Khāsnabis (Perso-Arab.)

Khāstagīr (Perso-Arab.)

Khā<Pers.-Arab. khān—"Lord, Prince."

(Ḥaṇṭā—bell.—one in-charge of the official bell?

Cakravartī<Skt. Cakravartin "an overlord."

Congdār (Pers.-Arab.) "a toll-collector."

Cāklādār "a district ('cāklā') officer."

Cāñi—"Chief."

Caudhurī, Caudhari<Caturdhurika or Caturdhara- "a superintendent of all affairs."

Joyār-dār (= 'Holder of land which can be ploughed with a pair of oxen'—Hind. juwārā + Pers. dār.

Dāngāli "in charge (pāla-) of dāngā (*deśi*=highland tract).

Taraf-dār Perso-Arab: (Arabic taraf='side', + Persian dār='holder').

? Talā—<Tala—under-ground; mines etc. cf Jajilpārā Copper plate ins. of Gopaladeva II (Bhāratvarṣa, Śrāvaṇ, 1344 B.S.)

? Talā pātra—in-charge of mines etc.

Dalui<Dalapati: cf. Assamese surname 'Bar-dalai'

Dastidār (Persian dast="hand" + dār="holder"—an assistant?).

Dūtā<Dūta. cf. Rāmganj Cop. pl. of Išvara Ghoṣa IB, III.

Duyā<Duta + āka

Duyārī Duāra<OIA Dvārīn

Deoyān (Perso-Arab. Dewān, Dīwān)

Nāyek<Nāyaka.

Nigama

Niyogī<Niyogin, "one enjoying high official appointment."

Pātra "a royal courtier."

Pājā (<Pers. pañjah="royal hand and seal for symbol of a hand with five fingers")—"an officer in charge of the royal seal."

Pur-kāit<Puraḥkāyastha "the chief Kāyastha of clerk."

Purakāyastha—same as 'Purkāt'

Peškās (Pers. Peś-kaś="first fruits, present to a king on succession to land or office").

Pratihāri—"gate-keeper": cf. Mahāpratihāra in Rāmpāl Copper plate of Śricandra (IB, III).

Pradhān—"chief."

Bakṣī, Bakṣī (<Pers. baxṣī)—"pay-master."

Bāgcī (Pers. baghica, bāghica>baghīcī="a small garden, a private garden")—"Dweller in a place called Bāghica=garden"?

Biśī<Viṣayīn "an officer in-charge of *viṣaya* or subdivision."

Viṣayī: see above; *tatsama*,

Berā<Vyāpāra, "a merchant or an officer dealing with cattle etc." (?)

Byabaharata, Byabatta=Vyavahartā "a superintendent": cf. Faridpur plates, Ind. Ant. 1910 p. 211.

Bhāṇḍārī "an officer in charge of stores": *tatsama*.

Ukil (Pers.-Arab.)

Kaṛui, Karui < Kaṭuka + ika

Kaṛuri

Kaṛuli

Kalmā < Pers.-Arab. Kalam-(pen).-

Kānungo (Perso-Arab.)

Kārkun (,,)

Kārpharmā (,,) kār + farmā 'Disposer or Orderer of business.'

Kārphā (,,)

Kāhālī 'drummer'; cf. Bengali Kāhāl, 'drum'

Kāṭhal < Kāṇthāla < Kaṇṭha-pāla;—"in charge of a frontier garrison."

Kumāra "prince"; *tatsama*.

Koṇā—same as kumār; *semitatsama*.

Kolē > Skt. Kulika. cf. 'Prathama kulika' 5th Corper plate ins. of Damodarpur (6th century) EI. XV—p. 142-3.

Khāsnabis (Perso-Arab.)

Khāstagīr (Perso-Arab.)

Khā < Pers.-Arab. khān—"Lord, Prince."

Ghaṇṭā—bell,—one in-charge of the official bell?

Cakravartī < Skt. Cakravartin "an overlord."

Congdār (Pers.-Arab.) "a toll-collector."

Cāklādār "a district ('cāklā') officer."

Cāñi—"Chief."

Caudhuri, Caudhari < Caturdhurika or Caturdhara- "a superintendent of all affairs."

Joyār-dār (= 'Holder of land which can be ploughed with a pair of oxen'—Hind. juwārā + Pers. dār.

Dāngālī "in charge (pāla-) of dāngā (*deśī* = highland tract).

Taraf-dār Perso-Arab: (Arabic taraf = 'side', + Persian dār = 'holder').

? Talā—< Tala—under-ground; mines etc. cf. Jajilpārā Copper plate ins. of Gopaladeva II (Phāratvarṣa, Śrāvaṇ, 1344 B.S.)

? Talā pātra—in-charge of mines etc.

Dalui<Dalapati: cf. Assamese surname 'Bar-dalai'

Dastidār (Persian dast="hand" + dār="holder"—an assistant?).

Dūtā<Dūtaka. cf. Rāmganj Cop. pl. of Išvara Ghoṣa IB. III.

Duyā<Duta + āka

Duyārī Duāra<OIA Dvārīn

Deoyān (Perso-Arab. Dewān, Dīwān)

Nāyek<Nāyaka.

Nigama

Niyogī<Niyogin, "one enjoying high official appointment."

Pātra "a royal courtier."

Pājā (<Pers. pañjah="royal hand and seal for symbol of a hand with five fingers")—"an officer in charge of the royal seal."

Pur-kāit<Puraḥkāyastha "the chief Kāyastha of clerk."

Purakāyastha—same as 'Purkāit'

Peškās (Pers. Peś-kaś="first fruits, present to a king on succession to land or office").

Pratihārī—"gate-keeper": cf. Mahāpratihāra in Rāmpāl Copper plate of Śricandra (IB. III).

Pradhān—"chief."

Bakṣī, Bakṣī (<Pers. baxṣī)—"pay-master."

Bāgcī (Pers. baghica, bāghica>baghīcī="a small garden, a private garden")—"Dweller in a place called Bāghica=garden"?

Biśī<Viṣayīn "an officer in-charge of *viṣaya* or sub-division."

Viṣayī: see above; *tatsama*,

Berā<Vyāpāra, "a merchant or an officer dealing with cattle etc." (?)

Byabaharata, Byabatta=Vyavahartā "a superintendent": cf. Faridpur plates, Ind. Ant. 1910 p. 211.

Bhāṇḍārī "an officer in charge of stores": *tatsama*.

Bhūmi "(in charge of) lands;" *tatsama*

Bhaumika—"in charge of lands;" *tatsama*.

Majukurnī (= ? madhya + karaṇika ?).

Majumdār (Arab. majma' = "meeting place, collection + Pers. dār = "holder")

Maṇḍala "an officer in charge of *maṇḍala*."

Mallik < mahallika "a village elder."

Mahāpātra "a high courtier; minister."

Mahalanābis Arab. mahall = "tract" + 'Pers. navāis = writer").

Māiti < Mahanta + ika cf. Oṛiyā Māhiti.

Mahut < Mahāmātra "a minister; an elephant driver."

Mudki < Madrā + kṛtika. "an officer in-charge of royal seals;" cf. Mudrādhikṛta—Rāmganj Copperplate of Śīvaraghoṣa, IB. III.

Munśi (Perso-Arab. munśī = "author, scribe, secretary, language teacher.)

Mustophī (Perso-Arabic mušt'afī 'chosen')

Mṛdhā = Mīrdhā = ?

Middā, Meddā = Variants of the preceding.

Maurī, Muhurī < Pers. Muhar—" (bearer of) the official seal." See Pāja before.

Maulika "a aristocrat"; *tatsama*.

Rāṇā < rāṇaka < \*rājñaka. "a provincial governor."

Rājā—"king"; *tatsama*.

Rāya < Rāja; *tadbhava*.

Rāhuta for Rāūta < Rājāputra "prince."

Lāyek—see Nāyek (above).

Sikdār (Persian six = "ironspit, iron-rod" + dār = "holder"; or Perso-Arab. sikka = "coinge" + dār).

Samādār Samāddār Sumār-dār < Persian Šumār-dār = "accountant"

Samājpati "a society leader"; *tatsama*

Sarkār = Persian: 'chief, master, supervisor, collector, agent?'

Sarvādhikārī (cf. Sarvādhikṛta) "a minister in general

charge": cf. Mahā Sarvādhikṛta; Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīcandra (IB.) III.  
 Sehānabis = Pers. siyāh = "black, ink"

### 3. Words relating to sea, river etc.

Arṇava—ship.

Kāṛārī < Kārṇadhārīka "a helmsman."

Galui < OB. galahī, "prow of a boat" < gala-vāhika. Cf.

ODBL. p. 673.

Ghāṭī < ghaṭṭa "an officer collecting ferry charges, or toll."

Daṇḍī (< daṇḍika) "an oarsman"; *semi-tatsuma*.

Dāṇī; see Daṇḍī; *tadbhava*.

Dindā < daṇḍī. Anglicised form (Dāṇḍiyā < Deṇḍe,

Dēṛō < Dindā)

Dēṛō—same as 'Dāṇḍiyā = Daṇḍī.

Neye < Nāvika "a sailor."

### 4. Miscellaneous.

Āḍhya < \*ārdhya = rddha "rich."

Ādya < "Original, pristine" cf. Maulika.

Kayāl < Perso-Arab. Kayyāl = "Measurer of grains, weighman"

Garāi < \*grathāpika (gaṭh, grath)—"a maker of articles."

Garō, Gorō—same as Garāi

Gāyen "a singer"—\*gāhina < gāthā + ina; cf. Parbatīya gāhine, < gāhiniyā = "singer".

Gāthāit (< grantha) "an officer in charge of books or manuscripts; a scribe".

Guchāit (< guccha) "a store-room officer"

Ghar < grha

Gharui < gharavī, grhapati

Cāule < cāula = "rice".

Cāki (< Cakra)—"man in charge of a district" (cf. 'Cākṣādār')

Dhuyā < Dhruva

Nohār=Lohār, Lauhakāra?

Pāṭikār<Paṭṭa+kāra="accountant".

Pāṭayārī=Hindu Paṭwārī="keeper of village land-accounts"

Pāṭhaka—"a reader".

Pāṇui<paṇyapati—"superintendent of the market".

Pāṇḍā<Paṇḍiā=Paṇḍitā-

Pāṇui <\*Pāṭapati, or pārapati

Pāṇui—same as Pārui

Bāiti<Vādayant+ika, "a player on a musical instrument".

Bāyen<Vādanaka—same as 'Bāiti',

Betāl<Vaitālika—"a court musician"

Māṭi<Mṛttikā—"(tiller of) the soil".

Mālākār—"maker of garlands".

Lohār—same as Nohār.

Lauha—"iron; a blacksmith." See Nohār.

Śākhāri (<Śaṅkhakāra) "a maker of shell ornaments".

Śeṭh <Śreṣṭhin "a merchant"

Sā, Sāu, Sā, Sāu<Sāhā Sāha, Sāhu<sādhū "a merchant"

Sādhū—same as Sāu : *tatsama*.

Sāhā—Same as 'Sā'

Sed<Sādhū—Sāudhu, Sāidh; Sed an unlauted *Semi-tasama* form.

## CHAPTER VII

### Caste-names as Surnames

It has been said before that generally among the lower classes of people in Bengal, the name of the caste is used as the surname. These names have at times become corrupt on account of mispronunciation as these people had generally no education at all. A number of old caste-groups have been entirely lost either because the people have changed their castes for some higher one or because these

castes have been merged into another by matrimonial alliances regular or irregular. Some of them have been lost after the names have been fossilised as surnames. Thus the caste 'Leṭa' mentioned in B. P. has been lost, but the surname 'Neṛa' originating from it still survives as a surname of people belonging to a different sub-caste of the same.

In modern times some of these surnames have been Sanskritised by educated people belonging to these castes, with words like 'Kṣatriya', 'Varman' etc. added to them. Thus 'Bāgdi' has been modified by educated people as 'Vyāgra Kṣatriya', 'Neṛa' as 'Nāṭya-Varman', 'Pōd' as 'Padmarāja' etc., whatever may be the meaning of these curious creations. This is undoubtedly due to the tendency to get into the upper strata of the society.

The following are the surnames that originated from caste-names in Bengal :—

Kāorā = Keora < Kevaṭa, Kaivarta

Kāsthā < Kāyastha?

Kuca < Kamboja, sanskritised as Kuvaca.

Keoṭ < Kaivartta.

Keolā—same as Kāorā

Koyāli < Kodālika; or Perso-Arabic Kayyāl (= Bengali Kayāl) + ika?

Kōl < Kolla; cf. Kolla B.P.

Kōc—same as Kuca

Khātik < Kṣatrika (?)

Gopa: *tatsama*

Cel < Cella < Cālukya tribe?

Cauhāni < Cāhamāṇa, an Agnikula Kṣatriya tribe.

Jolā < Pers. Julāh: "a Muhammadan weaver": cf.

Hindi julāhā.

Ḍōm—cf. O. B. Ḍomba

Dule < Doliyā "carrier of palanquin".

Neṛa < Nāḍuyā < Nāṭa "a dancer"

Pōd explained as being from Paṇḍraka = the tribe

Puṇḍra, but the change of the cerebral to the



dental is a difficulty, particularly when there is a caste-name. Pūr in North Bengal which is the proper phonetic development of Puṇḍra. There existed a parallel form \*Paundra which gave \*Ponda>Pod. As this word has a bad significance (*anus*), it has been Sanskritised as 'Padmarāja'.

Bāgdī—Sanskritised as Bāgatīla—(B. P.), and as Byagra=Vyāgra-Kṣatriya.

Bāruī<bāru-jivin<\*bāru—'betel'. cf. O. B. Bārayī; 'bāru' is an Austric word, cf. Bagchi-*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 18.

Mājhi<\*Madhyika "a head man."

Māla<Malla<Madla<Madra "warrior."

Māra<\*Maḍḍa<Madra "fighter."

Yugī (pronounced Jugi) <yogin; cf. Yuṅgī=Jungī (B. P.)

Rājavanśī<Rāja-vanśa—"a kind of bamboo". The people of this caste were famous for wielding the *lāṭhī* stick which was made of the bamboo.

Rāybēśē—same as Rājavanśī.

Rāhuta<Rājaputra

Lāi<Nāi<Nāpita<OIA.√snā-—"a barber."

Leṭ—same as 'Neṭ'

Vaidya—"a physician"; *tatsama*.

Sarāk<Śrāvaka: 'a Jaina, caste: *semi-tatsama*.

Sādhya—a sub-group of the Kāyastha caste; *tatsama*.

Su<sūta 'son of, son.'

Sūtradhār—"a carpenter"; *tatsama*.

Swarṇakār—"a goldsmith; *tatsama*.

## CHAPTER VIII

**Miscellaneous**1. *Animal names* :—

From a study of different old Indo-European languages we find that the practice of naming persons with the names of animals existed even in the I.E. period. Thus Greek Philippos, Hippokrates, Hippodameia, Lukourgos etc.; Avestan Kərəsāspa, Old Persian Vištāspa; Sanskrit. Yuvanāśva, Aśvapati etc.

In Bengal a number of surnames originated from parts of personal names. So we find a number of animal-names which were originally parts of personal names to be used as surnames. Thus *Siṃha* < *Ṇṛsiṃha* etc., *Hastī* < *Raṇa-haṣṭī* etc.

Afterwards analogy played its part, and a large number of animal-names which were not parts of personal names intruded into this sphere and were used as surnames. The following are the names of animals which were never parts of personal names but have been used as such after the analogy of those which were really inseparable parts of personal names :—

*Kāṛā*—“buffalo”: probably Kol in origin.

*Khalse* < *Khalisiyā*—“a kind of fish”.

*Gaṇḍak*—“Rhinoceros”

*Gaṇḍār*—ditto

*Gūi* < *Gomin*—“one in possession of many cows.

*Gō* < *Goman*—same as ‘*Gūi*’

*Ghaṛā* < *ghaṭa*—“an officer in charge of an array of elephants.” See GM. p. 23 foot note.

*Ghoṛā*—“horse”.

*Ghughu*—“dove”.

*Chāgli*—“goat-man—< *Chāgalika*”.

*Ṭyāṅgrā*,—*Ṭeṅgrā* a kind of fish”.

*Dāuk* (< *Dātyuha*) “a kind of water bird”

*Pākhirī* < *Pakṣin* “bird”

*Pāṭ(h)ā*—“he-goat”

Pipi—"a kind of water bird".  
 Pilui<Pīla-pati 'Master of Elephant'  
 Phaluiyā, Pha'lue—"a kind of fish"  
 Bara<Varāha—"boar".  
 Bāg(h)<Vyāghra—"tiger"  
 Mahiṣa—"buffalo".  
 Mākṛ<Markaṭa "ape"  
 Yeṣā<?  
 Rui<Rohita—"a kind of fish".  
 Siyāl<Śṛgāla—"jackal".  
 Hāṅgar—"shark".

2. *Surnames from names of Plants—*

Āṅkur—  
 Kacu<Skt. Kacvi 'an edible root'  
 Cāśaka—a cultivator: This is a pseudo-Skt. form.  
 Pracanda<?  
 Phaṇi 'a kind of cactus', phaṇi-manasā.  
 Buṭ 'pulses'.  
 Mān 'a kind of edible root', like Kacu.  
 Mūlā "Radish"  
 Laṅkā, Red pepper, chili.  
 Lodh<Lodhra—a kind of flower  
 Śāl "the Śāl tree"  
 Siuli<Sehali "a kind of flowering tree"

3. *Names of Vedas—*

The following surnames are originated from the names of different Vedas or their different branches. They are generally found among non-Bengali Brahmans:

Kṛṣṇasī<Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda?  
 Caube<Caturvedī.  
 Tiwāri, Tewāri<Tripāṭhin.  
 Tripāth<Tripāṭhin. A Sanskritised form.  
 Trivedī<Trivedin.  
 Miśra—"One who has read more than one Veda".  
 Sukul—<Śukla-Yajurvedin.

4. *Personal names or Gotras*

Akrūra

Agasti Agastya

Bharadvāja

Ruidāsa < *semitatsama* Ruhidāsa < Rohitāśva.

Son &lt; Sonak

5. *Titles, euphemistic or otherwise—*

Dun &lt; dula &lt; Dviguṇa : cf. Sawāi = Sapādika, as a title of the Maharajas of Jaipur.

Dulā &lt; Dullaha, Durlabha.

Narasundara, an euphemistic title for the barber caste.

Prāmāṇika “an authority”; the same.

Bāhuvalendra “a great warrior.”

Mukūṭamaṇi “a crest-jewel.”

Śrīmāṇi.

## CHAPTER IX

**Joint Surnames**

It is sometimes found that two different surnames are combined into one and used as single surname in Bengal. One of them is generally a secreted part of personal name and the other is an occupative surname or an official title, Bengali or Persian. There are also some cases where both the parts are either secreted parts of personal names or official titles.

These surnames may be classified in the following order:—

## 1. Combination of secreted parts of personal names and official titles:

Ghoṣ-Caudhuri &lt; Ghoṣa + Caturdhurika.

De-Sarkār &lt; Deva + Persian-sarkār.

Mitra-Majumdar &lt; Mitra + Perso-Arabic majma'-dār.

Rāy-mitra &lt; Rāja + mitra.

Vasu-Mallik &lt; Vasu-Mallika.

2. Combination of two secreted parts of personal names  
the second being specific of a caste :

Dāsa or Dāśa-gupta.

Deva-nātha.

Sena-gupta.

3. Combination of two occupative surnames or official  
titles :

Khā-Caudhurī < Turkī-Persian Khān + Caturdhurika.

Rāy-Caudhurī < Rāja + caturdhurika.

Sādhu-khā, Sādh-khā < Sadh + Persian (Turkī) Khān.

## CHAPTER X

### Use of Place Names as Surnames

(*Gāñis*)

Not only in Bengal but in various other countries of the world as well, topographical names are made to serve as an important factor in the formation of Surnames (Cf. E. Weekly, *Surnames* p. 47). But the study of these names has become a very difficult matter on account of various changes they have undergone in the course of centuries, both in form and in sound. The possible variants of a particular name run theoretically into a large number through various phonological changes.

It is also possible that a number of these names evolved out of some archaic dialect or dialects which have been lost before these names have been converted into surnames.

Some of these names preserve the archaic pronunciations which were familiar only to the inhabitants of the particular places wherein they originated. Such names are sure to defy philological interpretation unless the philologist possesses a sound historical knowledge of the phonology of the local dialect.

Weekly in his 'Surnames', rightly remarks that further a local surname wanders from its home, the more it is distorted.

Generally place-names are transformed into surnames when people leave a particular place and settle elsewhere; for persons are generally named after villages from which they come in their new surroundings. Thus a person from Bombay is called 'Bombay-wālā' not in Bombay but in places outside it. Surnames with endings—Kā (Rājasthāni), Kar (Mārāthi), Wāllā, Wāl (Gujrati, Hindi and Rājasthāni) undoubtedly developed in a similar manner. Thus we get names like Himmatsimkā, Bhāṇḍārkar, Tārāporewālā etc. It should be noted however that these endings were not always added to place-names but sometimes to names of families, objects of trade etc., e.g. Batliwalla < bottle.

When a number of persons or families leave their old places of residence in small groups and settle in different villages which are situated in different provinces or districts, then each of these groups is sometimes called by the name of the village wherefrom they came, in their new surroundings.

In the course of time the same village name which is used as surname develops a large number of variants due to the influence of the local dialects of the different places. This accounts for the reason why we find a number of cases where the same village name is transformed into a large number of surnames with some modification.

Philological interpretation of these surnames is hardly possible without a scientific study of place-names, which has not been taken up seriously for Bengal as yet.

In different *Kulapañjikās* we find mention of such *gāñis* compiled in various lists according as they were used as surnames by different classes of Bengali Brahmins. From a close study of these names one can easily find that some of them are obviously non-Aryan. Sometimes it is also found that the same name has been slightly changed, probably by the influence of different dialects

or by Sanskritisation, and the variants have been included in the lists as different villages. Thus the villages Nikari and Nikhati are obviously the same village but have been taken as two different villages in the *Kulapañjikās*.

The time when the use of village names as surnames was introduced, is according to the *Kulapañjikā*, the eighth century, when the mythical king Ādisūra ascended the throne.

In the absence of any epigraphical or other authenticated literary records nothing can be said about this date. But so far as is known this practice was in full force in the end of the twelfth century, if not earlier.

In an anthology of Sanskrit poetry entitled *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* compiled by Śrīdharadāsa, son of Baṭudāsa, a Mahāsāmanta of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena, in 1205-6 A.C., we find the mention of 9 such *gāñis*.

The earliest epigraphical record found in this connection is a copper-plate inscription of Daśaratha-deva who belonged to the 'Deva' dynasty. Daśaratha-deva obtained the kingdom of Gauḍa after the collapse of the Sena power (cf. Ādāvāḍi inscription. IB.). In this inscription also we find mention of 9 *gāñis* of which the 'Karañja' *gāñi* is mentioned in the '*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*' as well.

In the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma (c. 1595 A.C.) also we find the mention of 49 such *gāñis*.

The *gāñis* which have been found in different *Kulapañjikās* and other literary or epigraphical records are listed below with philological interpretation. Basu in his VJI has given 3 lists which he has quoted from different *Kulapañjikās*, consisting of 43, 28 and 42 names of villages, which according to those *Kulapañjikās* belonged to the Saptasatī Brahmins. The following *gāñis* are found in these three lists:

*List I.* Āditya, Ujjvala, Ulluka, Karañja, Kāṭāli Kāmadeva, Kālāi, Kāśyapa-kāñjari, Kunduka, Kuśala, Kerala, Kōyārī, Kaundinya, Cercaru, Jhajhjnara, Tāi, Dagari, Dīghala, Dhāi, Dhānasi, Nāgari, Nātāri, Nālasi,

Pitāri, Puṁsika, Pharphara, Bāgarāi, Bāgurāi, Bāṇṭuri, Bātāri, Bānasi, Bāpāri, Bālathuvi, Beru, Belāri, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Bhādāri, Mullūk, Yagāi, Sugāi, Surāi, Hāmsecāi, Hāsai.

Of these 43 names we can at once dismiss the names Dhāi, Bagurāi and Hāmsecāi which are respectively the same as Tāi, Bagurāi and Hāsai. So we get 40 names of different villages in this list.

*List II.* Ujjvala, Ulluka, Kacchapa, Kāṭāni, Kālāi, Kāśyapa-maṇjari, Kuśala, Cercerai, Ceru, Jagāi, Dāi, Dhānālī, Nālasi, Pithāri, Pharphara, Bagarāi, Bāṇṭuri, Bātāri, Bānasi, Bālathuvi, Beru, Mulluka, Yās, Latāri, Śaṛala, Sāgāi, Surāi, Helāi.

In this list Cercerāi and Ceru are obviously the variants of the same name, the former being a Sanskritised form of the latter; and Kacchapa is the *tadbhava* form of Kāśyapa (Kāśyapa-kāñjāri). So we get 26 names in this list.

*List III.* Antāri, Aditya, Ujjvala, Karañja, Karalā, Kaṛārī, Kalyāni, Kāṭāni, Kāmadeva, Kāśyapa-kāñjāri, Kuṛāla, Kulaka, Keyu, Koyārī, Kaṇḍinya, Tasikā, Daḡari, Dighala, Dhāyī, Nagari, Nālasi, Picu, Pitāri, Puṁsika, Phaphar-chatrikā, Baguri, Bātāri, Bāpāri, Belāri, Berugrāmī, Baijuri, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Bhādāri, Mulluk-jurī, Yavagrāmī, Sāgāi, Śāṛākulī, Sukhadāmika, Surāi, Hāngurī, Hāmu, Helanī.

In this list no repetition appears. So out of 113 villages mentioned in the above three lists we find (40+26+42) 108 villages.

Comparing the three lists we find that of these 108 village-names 14 are common to the three lists, 25 common to 2 lists, and 16 occur singly in one or the other list with slight difference of reading in each case. These village-names are arranged as follows. Different readings, where found, have been put within square brackets.

*A. Names common to three lists:—*

1. Ujjvala, 2. Kāśyapa-kāñjāri [—maṇjari in list II is obviously a misreading, Kacchapa], 3. Kāṭāli [Kāṭāni],



4. Tāi [Dāi], 5. Nālasī [Nālasī], 6. Pitārī [Pithārī, Pitārī], 7. Pharp̄hara [Phaphar-chatrika is a Sanskrit-ised form], 8. Bāgarai [Bāguṛī], 9. Bātārī [Bātārī], 10. Beru [Berugrāmī], 11. Mullūk [Mulukjuri], 12. Yagāi [Yavagrāmī, Jagāi], 13. Sāgāi [Sugāi of list I is a mis-reading] 14. Surāi

*B. Names common to two lists :—*

1. Āditya, 2. Ulluka, 3. Karañja, 4. Kāmadeva, 5. Kālāi, 6. Kuśala, 7. Kerala [Keralā], 8. Kōyārī [Koyārī], 9. Kauṇḍinya, 10. Cercaru [Ceru], 11. Dagari, 12. Dīghala, 13. Dhānasi [Dhānali], 14. Nāgari, 15. Latārī [Nātārī], 16. Puṁsika, 17. Bāṇṭuri, 18. Bānasi, 19. Bāpārī, 20. Bālathuvi, 21. Belārī, 22. Bhaṭṭasāli, 23. Bhādārī, 24. Hāsāi [Hāmsecāi, Hāmu], 25. Helanī [Helāi]

*C. Names occurring only once in the lists :—*

*List I.* Kunduka, Jhahjhara. *List II.* Yas, Ṣaṛala. *List III.* Antārī, Kaṛūrī, Kalyānī, Kuṛāla, Kulaka, Keyu, Tasikā, Picu, Baijuṛī, Sāṛākulī, Sukhadāmika, Hānguṛī.

Rejecting the repetitions we get the following 55 names of different villages :—

Antārī, Āditya, Ujjvala, Ulluka, Karañja, Kaṛārī, Kalyānī, Kāṭāli, Kāmadeva, Kālāi, Kāśyapa-kāñjārī<sup>1</sup> Kunduka, Kuṛāla, Kulaka, Kuśala, Keyu, Kerala, Kōyārī, Kauṇḍinya, Cercaru, Jhahjhara, Tasikā, Tāi, Dagari, Dīghala, Dhānasi, Nāgari, Nālasī, Picu, Pitārī, Puṁsika, Pharp̄hara, Bāgarai, Bāṇṭuri, Bātārī, Banasi, Bāpārī, Bālathuvi, Beru, Belārī, Baijuṛī, Bhaṭṭasāli, Bhādārī, Mulluk, Yagāi, Yās, Latārī, Ṣaṛala, Sāgāi, Sāṛākulī, Sukhadāmika, Surāi, Hānguṛī, Hāsāi, Helanī.

Basu mentions again the following list consisting of 56 village-names, which he says belonged to the Rāḍhiya Brahmins :—

Ambula, Kaṛī, Kāñjā, Kāñji, Kunda, Kulabha, Kuśa, Kusumakula, Keśara-koṇa, Gaṅgo, Gaṅgaṛa, Guṛa, Ghaṇṭā,

1. Kāśyapa-Kāñjārī is obviously a combination of two names Kāśyapa and Kāñjārī. The former is the name of a *gotra* and the latter of a village.

Ghoṣāla, Ghoṣa, Caṭṭa, Caturtha, Jhikaṛā Ḍiṇḍi, Tailavāṭa, Dagdhavāṭi, Dāyā, Dīrgha, Nandī, Nāñi, Parkaṭa, Palasā, Pāri, Pālādhi, Pāli, Pippala, Pītamunḍa, Putitunḍa, Pūrva, Poṣa, Barā, Bāpula, Bāli, Bokāṭṭa, Bhūri, Mahantā, Māsa, Mukhoṭi, Mūla, Rāya, Vandya, Vasu, Śimlā, Śimūla, Śira, Sāṇḍā, Sāhurā, Siddhala, Seu, Haṛa, Hijjala.

From a study of these names we find that in this list they occur mostly without any suffix, whereas in the previous lists they occur with suffixes -la, -āṛi (<Skt. vāṭika) etc. added to them. Thus the names Kāñjā and Kuśa of this occur as Kāñjāṛi and Kuśala in the former list.

In this list also some names are found to be repeated. Thus the names Kāñjā, Ghoṣa, Pāri, Śimūla are obviously same as Kāñji, Ghoṣala, Pāli, Śimlā respectively. So if we reject these repetitions we get 52 names of different villages.

Comparing this list again with the former one, we find that the following 14 village-names occur in common to both the lists with slight variations which are mentioned within brackets.

Kaṛāri [Kaṛi]

Kāñjāṛi [Kāñjā]

Kunda [Kunduka]

Kulabha [Kulaka]

Kuśa [Kuśala]

Dagdhavāṭi [Dagaṛi *semi-tatsama*]

Dāyā [Dāi, Tāi]

Dīghala [Dīrgha]

Pitāṛi [Pītamunḍa; a Sanskritised form of Pitāṛi<

Pitavāṭika].

Bāpula [Bāpāṛi]; <Vappa

Bālathuvi [Bāli]

Mūla [Mullūk]

Sāṇḍā [Sāṇḍākuli]

Sāhurā [Sāgāi]; Sāhurā <Sādhuvāṭaka and Sāgāi< Sāhāgrāmika. The form Sāhā originated from *Sādhu* meaning "honest (merchant)" > "merchant."

Now if we combine the above two lists into one, we get 14 names common to both the lists. So we get 41 and 38 names occurring in the two lists respectively once in each. Hence the total number of names found in these two lists are  $14 + 41 + 38 = 93$ . Taking the village-names which are repeated as one village these names are arranged as follows:—

Antāri, Ambula, Āditya, Ujjvala, Ullūka, Karañja, Kaṛāri, Kalyāṇi, Kāñjari, Kāṭali, Kāmadeva, Kālāi, Kunda, Kuṛāla, Kulabha, Kuśa, Kusumakula, Keyu, Kerala, Keśarakoṇa, Kōyāri, Kaṇḍinya, Gaṅgo, Gaṅga, Guṛa, Ghaṇṭā, Ghoṣa, Caṭṭa, Caturtha, Cercaru, Jhajjhara, Jhikarā, Dīṇḍi, Tasikā, Tāi, Tailavāṭa, Dagdhavāṭi, Dighala, Dhānasi, Nāgari, Nandī, Nāñi, Nālasī, Parkaṭa, Palaśā, Pāladhi, Pāri, Picu, Pītāri, Pippala, Puṁsika, Pūtituṇḍa, Pūrva, Poṣa, Pharphara, Barā, Bāgarāi, Bānturi, Bātāri, Bānasi, Bāpula, Bālathuvi, Beṛu, Belāri, Baijuri, Bokāṭṭa, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Bhādāri, Bhūri, Mahanta, Māsa, Mukhoṭi, Mūla, Yagāi, Yāsa, Rāya, Latāri, Vandya, Vasu, Śimūla, Śira, Śaṛala, Sāṇḍā, Sāhuṛā, Siddhala, Sukhadāmika, Surāi, Sen, Haṛa, Hāṅguri, Hāsāi, Hījāla, Helanī. ८७३३

Two other lists consisting of 107 and 100 *gāṇis* respectively are quoted by Basu from a *Kulaśāstra-dīpikā*. These two lists are also corrupted by forms which are obviously the variants of one and the same village. These villages according to him belonged to the Vārendra Brahmins.

In the 1st list we find that 21 names are such repetitions, and mention has been made of 107 villages when there existed actually 86. Putting the repeated forms within brackets these village-names are arranged as follows:—

Akṣagrāmī, Ātarthī, Ātharvija, Alasya, Ukharī, [Dhukarī], Ośrukhī, Kaṭagrāmī [Kaṭigrāmī], Karañja, Kalāpi, Kāmendra [Kāmakālī], Kāligrāmī [Kālīhāya], Kācārī, Kiriṇi, Kurkaṭi, Kurmuri, Khaṇḍavāṭi, Kharjuri,

Gaṅgāgrāmī, Go-grāmī, Go-caṇḍi, Go-sālākṣī, Ghoṣa-grāmī, Campaṭi, Jambu [Jāmarukhi], Jhāṇo, Tuṭṭuri [Thurthuri], Tantrakelī, Tāṇyāla [Tālāri]—metathetic misreading, Toraka, Dadhi [Dadhiyāla], Devalī, Nandagrāmī [Nandanāvāsī] Nāgāsura, Nikhaṭi [Nighaṭi], Nidrālī, Naigrāmī, Pañcavaṭi, Pāpuṛi, Pārisvāmī, Pippalī, Puṇḍravardhanī [Paṇḍravardhanī], Puti, Pusalā, Bala [Balotkaṭā], Bāla [Bālayaṣṭika], Bāṇagrāmī [Boṇagrāmī], Bāṭsyagrāmī, Bījakuñja, Belagramī [Vilvagrāmī, Belāri], Biśākhā, Biṣotkaṭā, Brhaṭi, Betagrāmī, Baiśālī, Bhagrāmī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Bhaṛāla [Bhāriyāla], Bhādaṛa [Bhāduri], Bhimakālī, Maṭhagrāmī, Matsyāśī, Madhyagrāmī [Madhugrāmī], Medaṛi, Maitra, Mauhāni, Ratnāvalī, Rāi, Rāṇihārī, Rudra bāgechi, Lakṣa, Lāula, Lāhiṛi, Sivataṭā, Sīhari, Sītala [Sitalī], Śṛṅgī, Śetakagrāmī, Sañjāminī, Samudra, Sahagrāmī, Sādhu bagechi [Sāriyāla] <Sāhurīyāla [?], Simḍiyāra, Simbahāla, Suvarṇa, Srotavaṭi, Kṣatragrāmī.

In the 2nd list of *gāṇis* belonging to the Vārendra Brahmins, Basu mentions 100 *gāṇis* which were granted to Brahmins of different *gotras*. Thus 18 villages were granted to *Kāśyapa*, 14 to *Śaṇḍilya*, 24 to *Vātsya*, 24 to *Bhāradvāja* and 20 to *Sāvārṇa* gotras. Basu quotes this table from a *Kulapañjikā* written in Sanskrit verse, portions from which he quotes in the footnote of his book (VJI). He says that Bhādaṛa, Lāṛuli, Jhāmala (Jhampati) Ātārthi, Rāi, Ratnāvalī, Uccarakhi, Gocchāsi, Bālaśakaṭi, Śimbi-bahāla, Sāriyāla, Kṣetragrāmī, Dadhiyāla, Puti, Kāchaṭi, Nandīgrāmī, Gogrāmī, Nikhaṭi, Pippali Śṛṅga-Khorjāra and Go-Svālambi,—these twenty four villages were granted to Brahmins belonging to *Bhāradvāja* gotra.

Counting the village-names one may clearly see that the number is twenty two and not twenty four as Basu says. Even if we take Śṛṅga-khorjāra as two names, as he takes it in this list, then also the number becomes 23 and never 24. Comparing these names with those which

occur in the verse quoted by Basu, we find that one village-name 'Samudraka' has been omitted in the above list of names. Thus in the verse we find:—

‘Bhādarō Lāruli Jhāmaḥ Ātārthi Rāi saṁjñakaḥ |  
Ratnāvalī coccharakhi Gocchāsi Bāla saṁjñaka ||  
Sākaṭiśca tathā Śimbirbahāla Sariyālaka |  
Kṣetragrāmī Dadhiyālaḥ Patih Kāchaṭireva ca ||  
Nandigrāmī Gogrāmī Nikhaṭi ca *Samudrakaḥ* |  
Pippalī Śṛṅga-khorjārā Go-Svālabistathaiva ca ||  
Caturviṁśati mitā ete Bharadvāja prakīrtitā ||’

Here the number is really 24.

Again we see that the same village name 'Samudraka' has been mentioned also in the list of *gāṇīs* given to the *Sāvarṇagotra*. Thus in another verse we find:—

“... ..  
Pañcavaṭi, Khaṇḍavāṭi Nikariśca *Samudrakaḥ* ||  
... ..  
Sāvarṇe katithā ete grāmā hi viṁśati smṛtāḥ ||”

In case of *Sāvarṇagotra* of course, Mr. Basu mentions 'Samudraka,' but in case of *Bhāradvāja* he does not do so though he takes 23 villages as 24. Nor does he mention anything about the repetitions of the name twice. [VJI. II—2, p. 22-23]

From the above we can fairly infer that sometimes it so happened that the same village was granted to Brahmins belonging to two or more different *gotras*. This proves my statement regarding the use of the variants of a particular name more than once as different names, to be true; (cf. *Nikhaṭi* of *Bhāradvāja-gotra* with *Nikari* of *Sāvarṇa-gotra*, which are undoubtedly the name of the same village).

Now in the 2nd list of *gāṇīs* belonging to the *Vārendra* Brahmins, which consists of 100 village-names, we find that here also a large number of names is corrupted by misreadings and hence uselessly repeated. These names are arranged, with different readings put within brackets, as follows:—

Āsrukoṭī, Akṣagrāmī Ātarthī, Uchharakhi, Undhuṛi [Dhundhuṛi], Kaṭigrāmī, Kalāpī [Kapālī], Karañja, Kāchaṭi, Kāmendra [Kāmakali], Kāligrāmī, Kiraṇa, Kukkuṭi, Kuṛmuṛi, Ketugrāmī, Khaṇḍavaṭi, Khorjāra, Gaṅgagrāmī, Go-gramī, Go-cehāsi, Go-svālabhi, Caturā vandi, Campaṭi [Campa, Camagrāmī], Jāmrukhi, Jhāmala, Ṭuṭṭuri, Tāroyāla-viśi [Tālayāra, Tātōyāra, Tanuṛi< Taluṛi], Toṭaka, Dadhi [Dadhiyāla], Deuli, Dhosāli, Naigrāmī, Nandigrāmī [Nandanāvāsi], Nikarī [Nikhaṭi], Nidrāli, Nedhuṛi, Pañcavaṭi, Pākari, Pippali, Puti, Pūṣāṇa, Paundrakālī, Balihāri, Bāla [Bālayaṣṭi], Bijakuñja, Belagrāmī [Beluṛi< Vilvakūṭika], Boḍhagrāmī, Bhaṭṭasāli, Bhādaṛa [Bhāduṛi], Bhaṛiyāla, Bhimakālī, Maṭhagrāmī, Madhyagrāmī [Modhagrāmī], Matsyāsi, Medari, Maitra, Moyāli, Yaśogrāmī, Ratnāvali, Rāi, Rudra-bāgechi, Lakṣa, Lāṛuli, Lāhīri, Vatsyagrāmī, Saragrāmī, Śākaṭi, Śimbi-bahāla [Simali], Sitali, Śṛṅga [Śṛṅgi], Śrutavaṭi, Samudra [same form is repeated], Sahagrāmī, Sādhu-bagechi [Sāhari], Sānyāl, Sehari, Simḍiyāra, Suvarṇa, Setu, Kṣatragrāmī.

Arranging the names in the above manner we find that 20 villages are repeated. Taking each of the repeated names once we get 80 names.

Now if we combine these 80 names with the 86 names occurring in the previous list, then we find that out of these  $(80 + 86) = 166$  villages, 71 are common to both the lists; 15 occur in the 1st list only and 9 in the 2nd list only.

The following 71 names are common to both the lists :—

Āsrukoṭī, Akṣagrāmī Ātarthī, Undhuṛi, Kaṭigrāmī Kalāpī [Kapālī], Karañja, Kāchaṭi, Kāmendra, Kāligrāmī, Kiraṇa, Kukkuṭi, Kuṛmuṛi, Khaṇḍavaṭi, Khorjāra, Gaṅgagrāmī, Gogrāmī, Gocchāsi, Gosvālabhi, Campaṭi, Jāmrukhi, Jhāmala, Ṭuṭṭuri, Talayāra, Toṭaka, Dadhi, Deuli, Naigrāmī, Nandigrāmī, Nikarī, Nidrāli, Pañcavaṭi, Pākari, Pippali, Puti, Puṣāṇa Paundrakālī, Balihāri, Bāla, Bijakuñja, Belagrāmī, Boḍhagrāmī, Bhaṭṭasāli, Bhādaṛa, Bhāriyāla, Bhīmakālī, Maṭhagrāmī, Madhya-

grāmī, Matsyāśī, Medarī, Maitra, Moyāli, Ratnāvalī, Rāi, Rudra-bāgchi, Lakṣa, Lāula [Lāṛula], Lāhiṛi, Vatsya-grāmī, Simbi-bahāla, Sitalī, Śṛṅga, Śrutavaṭi, Samudra, Sahagrāmī, Sādhu-bagchi, Sihari, Simḍiyāra, Suvarṇa, Setu, Kṣatragrāmī,

The following 15 names occur in the 1st list only :—

Ātharvīja, Ālasya, Ghoṣagrāmī, Tantrakeli, Nāgāsura, Pārisvāmī, Biśākhā, Br̥hati, Betagrāmī, Bhagrāmī, Rāṇihāri, Viṣotkaṭā, Vaiśālī, Sivataṭa, Sañjāminī.

The following 9 names occur in the 2nd list only :—

Uccharakhi, Ketugrāmī, Caturāvandī, Dhosāli, Nedhuṛi, Yaśogrāmī, Saragrāmī, Śākaṭi, Sānyāla.

So we see that there actually existed 95 villages which belonged to the Vārendra Brahmins.

Again if we compare these 95 names of *gāñis* with the 93 names which belonged to the Rādhiya and the Saptasatī Brahmins, we see that even in this case a number of names occurs in common in both the lists with slight variations. They may be arranged as follows :—

1. Common to both the lists :

Karañja

Karārī [Kaṭa grāmī] ; <Kaṭa-vāṭika.

Kāmadeva [Kāmendra]

Kālāi [Kāligrāmī]

Keyu [Ketugrāmī]

Gāṅgo [Gaṅgagrāmī]

Ghoṣa [Ghoṣagrāmī]

Caturtha [Caturāvandī] cf. modern Coṭkhaṇḍī

Tālayāra [Tārayāla]

Nandī [Nandigrāmī]

Parkaṭa [Pākari]

Pāri [Pārisvāmī]

Pippala [Pippali]

Putituṇḍa [Puti]

Poṣā [Puṣāṇa]

Bātāri [Betagrāmī]

Bālathuvi [Bāla] : <Bāla-stūpa

Beṛu [Beṛagrāmī]  
 Belāṛi [Belagrāmī]  
 Bhaṭṭasālī  
 Bhādāri [Bhādaṛa]  
 Yaḡṡī [Yavagrāmī] ; Yaśogrāmī is a Sanskritised form.  
 Rāya [Rāi]  
 Lātāri [Nātari]  
 Sihari [Śira]  
 Sāhurā [Sādhu-bāgchi]  
 Seu [Setu]  
 Hāsāi [Bhagrāmī]

Now we see that out of  $(95 + 93 =)$  188 village-names which occur in the above two lists, 28 occur in common in both the lists and of the remaining names 67 occur in the 1st list and 65 in the 2nd list once in each. So finally we get  $28 + 67 + 65 = 160$  names in all.

In the *Caṇḍi-maṅgala* of Mukundarāma we find mention of 49 *gāñis*; this list obviously contains some repetitions. They are arranged in the following order with the repeated forms given in square brackets.

Karnāi, Kaṛiyāla, [Kayaṛi, Kauri], Kuṛamāla [Kuṛilāla], Kāñjilāla, Kulabhi, [Kulasyāla, Kulinyāla], Kusuma-  
 ḡṡi, Keśara, Gāṅguli, Guṛa, Ghaṇṭiśvari, Ghoṡāla, Cāṭuti,  
 Coṭkhaṇḍi, Jhikarāri, Dānāri, Digsṡi, Dvikhaṇḍi, Nandī,  
 Nālasī, Palasṡi, Pāriyāti, Pālādhi, Pippilāi, Pisāca-khaṇḍa-  
 Pītamunḍi, Pūtituṇḍa, Baṭagrāmī, Bāpula, Bhāṭyāti,  
 Bhuriṡṡhāla, Matilāla, Mālakhāṇḍi, Māścaṭaka, Mukhoṭi,  
 Rāi, Vandya, Śimalāi, Sitala, Sṡi, Sehaṛā, Hara, Hijjala.

From the above list we find that out of 42 names only 7 are newly added to this list; the remaining 35 names are obviously found to have been mentioned in the previous lists with slight variation of forms in some cases. So the total number of *gāñis* increases by 7 to  $(160 + 7 =)$  167.

There are two more sources from which we get a number of *gāñis*. They are the *Sadākti-karṇāmṛta* by Śrīdhara-dāśa and the *Ādābāri* inscription of Daśarathadeva. In the former we find the following 9 names:—



Keśarakoṇīya, Tailapāṭīya, Bhaṭṭasāliya [-pāliya], Tālhaḍīya, Ratnamāliya, Gotithīya, Kendranīla, Bhavagrāmin, Karañja.

The following names occur in the Adābāri inscription of Dasarathadeva:—

Ḍiṇḍi, Pāli, Seu, Māscadaka, Mula, Sehandā (cf. Sehaṛā of K. C), Puti, Mahāntiyaṛā, Karañja.

From the above two lists we find that only two, viz. 'Kendranīla' and 'Tailapāṭa' occur as new in the S. K. The remaining names including those found in the Adābāri inscription are mere repetitions of names mentioned before.

So the total number of *gāṇīs* which belonged to different classes of Brahmins is  $167 + 2 = 169$ .

These 169 names were transformed into about 400 names in course of centuries due to variation in form and sound.

These 169 names may be arranged as follows:—

Antāri, Ambula, Aśrukoṭī, Akṣagrāmī, Ātarthī, Atharvīja, Aditya, Ālasya, Uccharakhi, Ujjvala, Undhuṛi, Ulluka, Kalāpī. Karañja, Karṇāi, Kaṛi, Kalyāni, Kāñjari, Kāṭālī, Kāmadeva, Kālāi, Kāśyapa, Kāchaṭi, Kiraṇa, Kukkuṭi, Kunda, Kuṛmuṛi, Kuṛāla, Kulabha, Kuśa, Kusumakula, Kendranīla, Keyu, Kerula, Keśarakoṇa, Kōyārī, Kaunḍinya, Khaṇḍavaṭi, Khorjāra, Gaṅgo, Gaṛgaṛa, Guṛa, Go-grāmī, Go-cchāsi, Go-svālabhī, Ghaṇṭā Ghosa, Caṭṭa, Caturtha, Campaṭi, Cercaru, Jāmarukhi, Jhajhjhara, Jhāmala, Jhikaṛā, Tuṭṭuri, Ḍiṇḍi, Tantrakelī, Tasikā, Tāi, Tālayāṛa, Tailapāṭa, Toṭaka, Dagdhavāṭi, Dadhi, Dānari, Dīrgha, Deuli, Dhānasi, Dhosālī, Nai-grāmī, Nagari, Nandī, Nāgāsūra, Nāñi, Nālasī, Nikari, Nidrālī, Pañcavaṭi, Parkaṭa, Palasā, Pāri, Pālādhi, Picu, Pitāri, Pippala, Piśāca-khaṇḍa. Puṁśika, Putituṇḍa, Pūrva, Poṣa, Paundrakālī, Pharphara, Barā, Balihāri, Bagarāi, Bāṇṭuri, Bātāri, Bānasi, Bāpula, Bālathuvi, Biśākhā, Bijakuñja, Br̥haṭi, Beru, Belārī, Baijuṛi, Bokaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭasāli, Bhādaṛi, Bhāriyāla, Bhīmakālī, Bhuṛi, Maṭhagrāmī, Matilāla, Matsyāśi, Madhyagrāmī, Mahanta, Māla-

khaṇḍi, Māsa, Mukhoṭi, Mūla, Medari, Maitra, Moyāli, Yagāi, Yāsa, Ratnāvali, Rāṇihāhāri, Rāya, Rudra-bāgchi, Latāri, Lakṣa, Lāula, Lāhiṛi, Vaudya, Vatsya grāmī, Vasu, Viṣotkatā, Vaiśālī, Śaragrāmī, Śakaṭi, Śivatata, Simula, Simbi-bahāla, Sitalī, Śṛṅga, Śrutabaṭi, Śarala Saṅjamini, Samudra, Sahagrāmī, Sāṇḍā, Saṇyāla, Sāhupā, Sāi, Siddhala, Sihara, Simḍiyāra, Sukhadāmika, Suvarṇa, Surāi, Seu, Sehandā, Ilara, Hāṅguri, Hāsai, Hijjala, Helani, Kṣatragrāmī.

This village-names may now be classified according to:—

1. Names of plants, trees and flowers
2. Names of animals
3. Secreted parts of personal names
4. Words connected with sea or river
5. Words relating to situation, description or portion of land
6. Miscellaneous.

#### 1. *Names of plants etc.*

Names of plants and trees have exerted a considerable influence on the formation of place-names. This is true not only in Bengal but in other countries of the world as well. (Cf. E. Weekly. *Surnames* p. 184-5).

From names of villages mentioned above, it will be found that a large number of them originated from names of plants and trees which are found commonly in Bengal.

The following are the names of villages that have been originated from names of plants, trees, flowers etc.

#### A. Trees :

Akṣagrāmī.

Ambula < Āmbul < Āmra-mukula.

Uccharakhi < uccha-vṛkṣa + ika ; 'cocoanut tree'

Karañja. 'Lotus' or < 'Kara-voñcha' < Kara-proñcha ;

New Beng. 'Karamcā', a small acid fruit.

Karāri. < Kaṭi ; 'Pippali tree'

Kāñjari < Kañji ; 'Mahādroṇa'

Kukkuti < Sālmali tree > cf. Kuṭkuṭi.

Kuṇāla.

Khorjāra 'date palm'

Jāma-rukhi < Jambu-vṛkṣa + ika.

Tālayāra > Tāla-vāṭaka.

Pañcabaṭi < Pañca-vāṭika.

Parkaṭa.

Palasā < Palāśa.

Pippala.

Pumśika.

Baṛā < Baṭa.

Belāri < Vilva-vāṭika.

Moyāli < Mayāla

Lakṣa < Plakṣa; 'Pākura tree'

Simula < Simbali, 'Silk cotton tree'

Śrutabaṭi < -baṭa.

Sehaṇḍāyī.

Hiḥjala.

Helani < Helāni < Helāvani; 'Hela wood'.

B. Plants:

Kuśa.

Dhānasi < Dhānyaśrī (?)

Picu.

Bātāri—'Eraṇḍa plant'

Bṛhati.

Beṛu— < Beura < Skt. Veṇu.

Yagḍi > Yavagrāmī.

Latāri < Latāri.

Śaragrāmī.

Simbi-bahāla.

C. Flowers:

Kunda.

Kusumakula.

Tasikā < atasikā

D. Seed:

Bījakuñja.

2. Names of animals:

Kalāpī.

Go-grāmī.

Go-ccāsi.

Go-svāmbi.

Nagari<Nāgaṛi.

Nāgāsūra.

Bagarāi—cf. Bāgāṛi (ODBL. p. 181)<Vyāghra-tata+ika.

Matsyaśi<Matsyāvāsa, Cf. Āmgachi inscription of Vighrahapala III, VSP. 1323 p. 233 ff. or Matsyāśi “fish eater”.

Simḍiyāra—<Simha-dvīpa-vāṭaka.

3. *Secreted parts of personal names*, names of families etc. The following names of villages are found to consist of words which by this time were secreted from personal names or epithets and were fossilized as surnames.

Āditya.

Keyu<Ketu.

Kōyāṛi<Kumāra-vāṭika.

Guṛa<√guha<guḍha?

Caṭṭa.

Ghaṇṭa.

Ghoṣa.

Deuli<Devakula+ika.

Nandī.

Baijuri<Vaidya-kuṭa+ika.

Bāpula<Bappa-kula.

Bhaṭṭasālī.

Bhādāṛi>Bhadra-vāṭika.

Mahanta<mahant-; Cf. Mahintā.

Rāya<Rāja.

Rudra-bāgchi.

Lāula<Rāula<Rājakula.

Vasu.

Sāhurā<Sādhu-vāṭa+ika.

Sāi<Svāmin.

Hara<Bhaṭa—in compounds.

4. *Words connected with sea, river etc.*

Kāchaṭi<Kakṣa-

Gāṅgo < Gaṅgoka; cf. *Sekaśubhodayā*.

Naigrāmī < Nadīgrāmī.

Toṭaka < Taṭaka.

Sivataṭā.

Samudra.

Seu < Setu.

5. *Words relating to description, situation etc. of lands :*

(1) Situation—

Antāri < Antya — 'end' + vāṭika

Pūrva — 'east'

Madhyagrāmī — 'middle'

(2) Description—

Dagdhavāṭī.

Dīrgha.

Pitāri < Pitāri < Pittavāṭika for Pīta-vāṭikā.

(3) Portion of land—

Khaṇḍavāṭī.

Caturtha (khaṇḍa).

Diṇḍi < Dvi-khaṇḍi

Pīśācakhāṇḍa.

Mālakhāṇḍī.

Ṣaṛala.

6. *Miscellaneous :*

(1) Names of metals—

Ratnavālī.

Suvarṇa.

(2) *Gotra* or personal names—

Kaṇḍinya.

Vatsyagrāmī.

(3) Names of stars (Nakṣatra)—

Viśākhā.

Puṣāṇa, cf. Poṣalī ODBI. p. 186.

7. *Un-classified names :*

Aśrukoṭī, Ātarthī, Ātharvīja, Āṇṣya, Ujjvala, Undhuṇi  
Ulluka, Karṇai, Kalyāṇī, Kātālī, Kāmadeva, Kūlāi,  
Kiraṇa, Kuṣamuṇi, Kulabha, Kendraṇīla, Kērala, Keśara-  
koṇa, Gaṅgaṛa, Campaṭi < Campā-hiṭṭi, Cercaru, Jhajh-

jhara Jhāmala<M. B. Jhāohē<pumic stone, Jhikarā, Tuṭṭuri, Tantrakelī, Tāi, Dadhi, Dānari, Dhosālī, Nāñi; Nālasī, Nikari, Nidrālī, Pāri, Pālādhi, Putitūṇḍa, Paundrakālī, Pharpahara, Balihāri, Bāṇṭuri, Bānasi, Bālathuvi, Bokātṭa, Bhāṇiyāla, Bhīmakālī, Bhūri, Matilāla—personal name?, Maṭhagrāmī, Māsa, Mukhoṭi, Mūla, Medharī, Maitra, Yāsa, Rāṇihāri, Lāhīri, Vandya, Viṣoṭkaṭā, Vaiśālī, Śākaṭi—cf. ODBL. p. 184, Sitalī, Śṛṅga, Sañjamini, Sahagrāmī, Sāṇḍā, Sānyala, Siddhala, Sihara<Śikhara, Sukhadāmika, Surāi, Ilāṅguri, Ilāsāi.

Besides these mentioned above I have found two surnames viz. Pācal and Bhāoṅāl which obviously originated from place names, but they have not been included in the list of *gñāns*. In modern times a large number of the above village-names is used as surnames of Bengali Brahmins. Some of them are used after having been sanskritised with the addition of words like ‘Upādhyāya’, Svāmin, Ācārya etc. Thus Mukhopādhyāya, Bandopādhyāya, Gosvāmi, Bhaṭṭācārya etc.

The suffix -jye which is generally added to some of the surnames of Bengali Brahmins in modern times is the *tadbhava* form of jīva (jiā). But this has been confused with the word -jhā (<ojhā<upādhyāya) and is used for upādhyāya. Thus ‘Mukujye’ is substituted for Mukhopādhyāya, ‘Cāṭujye’ for Caṭṭopādhyāya and ‘Bāṇujye’ for Bandyopādhyāya. These forms again have been Anglicised into Mukherji, Chatterji and Banerji.

A large number of these villages has been destroyed and the families which used those village-names as their surnames have become extinct in course of time. Some of the names again have been changed in a manner stated before, for their accoustic disqualification. Moreover a number of them has been replaced by official titles which intruded inside the sphere of surnames during the *Muhammadan period*.

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Besides these mentioned above I have found two surnames viz. Pācal and Bhāoyāl which obviously originated from place names, but they have not been included in the list of *gāñis*. In modern times a large number of the above village-names is used as surnames of Bengali Brahmins. Some of them are used after having been sanskritised with the addition of words like 'Upādhyāya', Svāmin, Ācārya etc. Thus Mukhopādhyāya, Bandopādhyāya, Gosvāmi, Bhaṭṭācārya etc.

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A large number of these villages has been destroyed and the families which used those village-names as their surnames have become extinct in course of time. Some of the names again have been changed in a manner stated before, for their accoustic disqualification. Moreover a number of them has been replaced by official titles which intruded inside the sphere of surnames during the Muhammadan period.

Sudhir Kumar Mukherji



## ABBREVIATIONS

- EI *Epigraphia Indica*  
 FGI *Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions*  
 GM *Gauḍalekhamālā*, ed. by A. K. Maitra  
 IB *Inscriptions of Bengal*, ed. by N. G. Majumdar  
 JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*  
 KS *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, ed. by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭā-  
     chārya  
 ODBL *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*  
     by Dr. S. K. Chatterji  
 VJI *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* by N. N. Basu  
 VSPP *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*

[Sudhir Kumar Mukherji, the writer of the above article, was a promising student of the University of Calcutta who took his M. A. in Comparative Philology in 1937 and entered into philological studies and investigation with enthusiasm. He obtained the post of a teacher in Rasulpur School in his native district of Burdwan, and devoted his spare time in linguistic enquiries in the local dialect and in other matters connected with Indo-Aryan philology. He prepared this paper in its first draft only, and it was his intention to write an elaborate thesis on it. But unfortunately he was cut off before he could complete it, at the age of 24. This premature death of a promising worker is a great blow to the science in Bengal. He died on November 3, 1938, leaving a widow and a baby, and the latter also died some time ago. Sudhir Kumar endeared himself to his teachers and his fellow students as much by the charm of his personality as by his keenness as a linguistic scholar, and his untimely death is deeply mourned by all. It was decided to publish his paper, unfinished though it was, as the first linguistic investigation into a topic which has other implications also than merely philological. A number of off-prints of this article has been struck off to be sold separately.]

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

## LINGUISTIC NOTES ON MAIMANSING DIALECT

Bengali is a member of the Aryan branch of the Indo-European family. It is spoken by over fifty-three millions of people, and, as such, it has varied dialects, which may be linguistically classified into four main groups—Western, North-central, Northern and Eastern (with a South-eastern sub-group), agreeing roughly with the ancient divisions of the country, Rāḍha, Puṇḍra or Varendra, Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga. The dialects of Varendra and Kāmarūpa have points of similarity, as it is quite natural from their geographical position, although some salient traits of the dialect of Kāmarūpa are found in some parts of Vaṅga (owing possibly to a common Tibeto-Burman substratum). The morphological differences among the different dialect-groups are almost negligible—except in South-eastern subgroup, where considerable divergences are found to exist in sounds and phonology, although they do not create any mutual unintelligibility among the speakers of Bengali in different parts of the province. Political and social reasons have brought about the present unity of speech, despite the fact of dialects.

The dialect of eastern Maimansing [E. Mym]\* falls within the Eastern group which consists of the dialects of

\* One point is to be remembered in this connection, that although E. Mym. was included in Kāmarūpa in the pre-Mohammadan period its dialect could not come in direct touch with that of Assam, it being a frontier province and there being the natural barriers of the Garo hills on the north and the Brahmaputra on the west, its connection with Kāmarūpa was considerably limited. During the Mohammadan rule, it became practically a part of Vaṅga, and the adjoining districts of Dacca, Tipperah and Sylhet have profoundly influenced its dialect. Hence, it is quite reasonable to classify the dialect of E. Mym. among the Vaṅga group, with which it bears a close similarity, than with the neighbouring Assamese.

Dacca, Maimansing, Tipperah, Bākharganj, Faridpur and the Bāgerhāt subdivision of Khulna and also some portions of the district of Jessore, specially on the borderland of Faridpur. The districts of Sylhet and Kāchār of Assam are also included within the area of this group. The above-mentioned districts show some well-marked peculiarities of pronunciation, which are rather absent in the Standard Colloquial (or Cacusutta Colloquial, as it is generally called), which is current along the river Bhagīrathī in West and Central Bengal. As for instance, the voiced aspirates [gh], [d̪h], [dh], [bh] and the glottal fricative [h] are replaced respectively by stops with accompanying glottal closure [g'] [d'] [d'] [b'] and by [ʔ] in the case of [h], throughout the dialectal area of East Bengal. Initial [ś, ṣ, s] are often changed into [h]. Almost all people of East Bengal pronounce the palatal sounds [c], [ch], [j], [jh] as [ts], [s], [dz], [dz', z'] respectively, whereas West Bengal people utter them as palatal affricates [c=c+ś], [ch], ʃ[=ʃ+z], and [jh] respectively. The sounds of the 'cerebral' flapped [ɾ] and [ɹh] are almost absent from the dialects of East Bengal. Epenthesis still retains its force in the dialects of East Bengal, which is altogether absent from the dialects of West Bengal, where umlaut and vowel-harmony prevail to a very large scale. Nasalisation is absent from the dialects of East Bengal, although it is wide-spread in the dialects of Noakhali and Chittagong, but West Bengali and North Central Bengali have kept intact the original nasalised vowels. The presence of a prominent Tibeto-Burman element in the population of East Bengal may be partially responsible for these divergences which occur among the dialects of these two areas.

Taking into consideration the number of people who speak East Bengali dialect, it can be unhesitatingly said that it is next to the Calcutta Colloquial in importance. Any attempt to lift it up to the status of a literary language has not been made as yet. Of course, this sort of

attempt at the present moment will be utterly futile, as the Calcutta Colloquial is already in possession of the field not only as the universally accepted standard in conversation among all Bengalis but also is widely used as an auxiliary literary language.

The language which is used in literature is the High Bengali, full of *tatsama* words with a grammar preserving very faithfully the inflections of Pāṇini's grammar. But this 'high' literary language, or Sādhu-bhāṣā, as it is called, has also been influenced to some extent by the Calcutta Colloquial. Most of the great modern writers are now using the Standard Colloquial in literature, omitting the so-called archaic words and forms. Through the influence of the Calcutta Colloquial, other dialects of Bengal are also being affected both in phonology and morphology. Maimansing is no exception to this general trend of things. The Calcutta Colloquial has brought a new change both in spirit and form within this dialect, through the agency of education and literature. The paṇḍits of orthodox class are rather apathetic, and they do not like to go against the traditional view. A few try to show an air of learning and speak a highly Sanskritic Bengali. But the common people, stick to the *patois* and they freely use all the genuine terms and words of the dialect.

The following are the **Chief Phonetic Traits** of the E. Mym. dialect as a whole. It shares these traits almost equally with the rest of the East Bengal dialects.

*Note.* In the transcription, in this paper, [a] has the value of the English *o* in *hot* (approximately) or of *o* as in *obey*, and [ā] has the value of *a* in English *father* (approximately). The E. Mym. forms are equated with the standard Bengali ones.

- (i). The voiced aspirates [gh], [ḍh], [dh] and [bh] are totally absent in the dialect, and these are substituted by plosives with accompanying glottal closure, [g'], [ḍ'], [d'] and [b'] respectively. Thus :

- [g'ar] = [ghar] "house"  
 [g'umān] = [ghumāna] "sleeping."  
 [d'engū] = [dheṅgū] "tall,"  
 [d'ākā] = [dhākā] "covered" or "place-name,  
     Dacca."  
 [d'ān] = [dhān] "paddy"  
 [d'āt] = [dhāt] "nature."  
 [b'āt] = [bhāt] "cooked rice."  
 [b'arā] = [bharā] "full."

But in a non-initial position, they are reduced to voiced plosives. In that case, the glottal closure is transferred to the first consonant, which sometimes bears a stress. e. g., [b'āg] = [bāgh] "tiger" or = [bhāz] "shar"; [b'agā] = [bāghā] or [bhāgā] (both the words in each group are identical in pronunciation)

- (ii). The pronunciation of the plosive sound [k] in the interior position of a word is sometimes heard as [h], although one cannot always be quite sure of it: e.g.,  
 [tchā] = [tākā] "rupee."  
 [behā] = [bākhā] "crooked."  
 [āhenkā] = [ākānkṣā = ākānkhyā] "desire"  
 [mahaddamā] = [mokaddamā] "law-suit."
- (iii). The pronunciation of all the stop sounds, as a general rule, is rather vague and indistinct, but in Central and West Bengal they are quite distinctly pronounced.
- (iv). There is no aspiration at all in the pronunciation of the sound [h]. The glottal stop [ʔ] replaces the glottal fricative [h]: e.g.,  
 [ʔaḥ] = [haḥ] "is" or "becomes."  
 [oibo] = [haiba] "shall be."  
 [ʔāse] = [hāse] "smiles."  
 [ʔāl] = [hāl] "strength or energy"  
 [ʔālio] = [hārila] "was defeated."  
 [ʔindu] = [hindu] "Hindu."

[ʼit] = [hit] "good."

[ʼutum] = [hutum] "a kind of bird."

[ʼukkā] = [hukā] "hookah."

[ʼusenpur] = [husenpur] "place-name."

- (v). The initial sibilant [ $\leq$ s, ʃ, s] is often replaced by [h].

This is also a characteristic thing of Assamese: e.g.

[he] = [se] "he or she."

[hagal] = [sakal] "all."

[hamān] = [samān] "equal."

[hālā] = [śālā] "wife's brother."

[hunte] = [śunite] "to hear."

[hudāhudi] = [śudhu-śudhu] "for nothing."

[hukuin] = [śakuni] "vulgar."

[hour] = [śvaśura] "father-in law."

[huits] = [śūc] "needle."

[hutār] = [śūtradhar] "carpenter."

[haštān] = [saetan] "satan."

[hütsā] = [śśāca<satya] "true."

[heolā] = [śeolā] "an aquatic plant."

Examples need not be multiplied.

- (vi). [h]>[ʼ] in the medial and final positions is transferred to the initial syllable: e.g.,

[gʼaēnā] = [gahanā] "ornament."

[mʼādzan] = [mahājan] "money-lender."

[śʼāś] = [sāhas] "courage."

[śʼaon] = [sahan] "bearing."

[mʼayāl] = [mahāl] "property."

[bʼiyā] = [bibāha] "marriage."

[tʼārā] = [tāhārā] "they."

[kʼārā] = [kāhārā] "who."

[śʼande] = [sandeha] "doubt."

- (vii). There is practically no distinction between the sounds of flapped retroflex [ɽ] and ordinary alveolar [r]—[ɽ] changes to [r].

(viii) Palatals [c], [ch], [j] and [jh] are pronounced as dental affricates [ts], [s], [dz], [dzʼ, zʼ].

(ix). Intervocal [t] and [tʰ] are often changed into [d] : e.g.

[beḍā] = [beṭā] "man"

[kūḍe] = [kūṭe] "cuts"

[phāḍā] = [phāṭā] "burst, cracked"

[baḍḍā] = [baraṭā] "the big one"

[p'āḍā] = [pāṭhā] "he-goat"

[katāḍā] = [kathāṭā] "the word"

[dzeḍā] = [jeṭhā < jyeṣṭha-tāta] "father's elder brother"

[māiyaḍāre] = [meyṭāke] "to the girl"

[piḍāiyā] = [piṭāiyā] "having beaten"

[kāṇḍākāḍi] = [kāṇṇākāṭi] "much weeping"

(x). Initial [n] is sometimes changed into [l] : e.g.

[lanī] = [nanī] "butter"

[lāimiyā] = [nāmiyā] "coming down"

[lārā] = [nārā] "to move"

[larātsarā] = [narācarā] "moving and stirring about"

[lāug] or [lāgāl] = [nāgāl] "touch"

The tendency of changing [n>l] and vice versa is also noticed among the dialects of the uneducated and lower classes in West Bengal.

(xi). Medial plosives are sometimes doubled for the sake of emphasis. Thus,

[śakkal] or [haggal] = [sakal] "all"

[ʼukkā] = [hukā] "hookah"

[ʼātti] = [hātī] "elephant"

[chikkā] = [sikā] "hanging loop to hold pots etc."

(xii). In the Sherpur and Kāgmāri *pārgaṇās* of the Jāmālpur subdivision, the initial [r] of the words like [Rām-bābu] (proper-name), [ras] "juice", [Rudrapur] "village-name" etc. is dropped and the words become [Ām-bābu] [aś] and [Udrapur] respectively. The reverse process of inserting an [r] at the beginning of a word is also marked, as [Rāśu] for [Āśu] "a proper name", [rāmer as] for [āmer ras] = "mango juice" etc. But this tendency towards dropping of or inserting an initial [r] in a word is not marked in other parts of E. Mym. Although it is found

in the dialects of the uneducated classes people of West Bengal as well as North Bengal.

(xiii). The vowel [o] is usually changed into [u]. This trait is met with in the extreme West Bengali area too: e.g.,

[puk] = [pokū = West Bengali *patois* pok] "insect"

[b'ur] = [bhor] "morning"

[luk] = [lok] "man"

[b'uzā] = [bojhā] "burden"

[tsur] = [cor] "thief"

[kunā] = [konā] "corner"

[śug] = [śoka] "sorrow"

[suḍu] = [choṭa] "small"

[sunāli] = [sonāli] "golden"

[muḷā] = [moṭā] "strong"

[dzug] = [yog] "addition"

[g'uāil] = [gohāl, gohāli] "cow-shed" etc.

Nasalization is totally absent from the dialect of E. Mym.

(xiv). Epenthesis is seen to be in full force in the dialect of E. Mym. But in the Standard Colloquial vowel-mutation and vowel-harmony being well-established epenthetic vowels are not preserved at all. Thus:

[āidz] = [āj] "to-day"

[kainyā] = [kanyā] "daughter"

[laikhya] = [lakṣya] = "notice"

[rāit] = [rātra] "night"

[māir] = [māri] beating

[rākkhuāl] = [rākhāl, earlier rākhoāla] "cow-herd"

[dzaigga] = [yajña] "sacrifice"

[tsauk] = [caukh, cokh] "eye"

[lauk] "let him take"

(xv). Instances of *svara-bhakti* or *anaptyxis* are also found to a very large scale in the E. Mym dialect. e.g.,

[gerām] = [grām], "village".

[parmād] = [pramād] "blunder"

[partiggā] = [pratiḡṇā] "promise"



[parastāb] = [prastāb] "tale"

[pardāinyā] = [pradhān + -iyā] "chief"

[siluk, suluk, or hiluk] = [śloka] "couplet"

[hinān] = [snān] "bath"

Examples need not be multiplied.

(xvi). In the E. Mym. dialect, the word "lāga" is sometimes added to the verbs used in present indicative tense. e.g.,

[dzāon lāge] = Cal. Col. [jete haḥ] "one is to go";

[khāon lāge] = Cal. Col. [khete haḥ] "one is to eat".

In the E. Mym. dialect the word [deoyā=dewā] is sometimes added to the verbs in past tense, while in the West Bengal dialect the root [phelā] is joined to the verbs. Thus, [koiyā dilò] = Cal. Col. [bole phelle] "spoke outright"

[kāindā dilo] = Cal. Col. [kēde phello] "cried outright"

In the E. Mym-dialect, verbs like [ḍāk] "call", [phāl] "throw", [sār=chār] "give up", in the imperative mood would be [ḍekede], [phele de], [cheṛe de] respectively in Cal. Col.

But the forms like [ḍāikyā de], [phālāiyā de] and [sāiryā de] are also common in the dialect of E. Mym.

In the Kishorganj-Netrokoṇā dialect, the verbs in the present perfect tense, such as [giyāchen] "has or have gone", [basiyāchen] "has or have sat", [uthiyāchen] "has or have risen" of the Standard Bengali become [geuin], [baisuin], [ursuin] etc.

The honorific imperative verbs [jān<jāun] "please go", [ānun] "please bring", [egon<āguāun], "please proceed" of the Standard Colloquial, would be [dzāukhāin], [āukhuāin] and [āggūāukhāin] in the Kishorganj-Netrokoṇā dialect.

The compound verbs as in the Standard Colloquial [mere phelbo] "I shall put to death" [keṭe phelbò] "I shall cut" etc. in future tense would be [māiryālāiyām<māriyā

laibām], [kāiṭyālāiyām] in the Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā dialect.

The first person future form as [jābo], [āsbo] etc. become [dzāiyām] or [dzāibām] [āiyām] or [āibām], respectively in the Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā dialect.

The dialect of E. Mym. is not at all cacophonous and is quite pleasing to hear for people of other dialects also; there is no unnatural harshness in the sounds or pronunciation as in the Vikrampurī dialect of Dacca. Throughout the district this melodious character of the language is very faithfully maintained.

The dialect of E. Mym. differs slightly in the different *pargaṇās* or subdivisions.

The dialects of Kishorganj, Netrakoṇā, and of the major portions of the *sadar* subdivision, are almost identical with each other.

The dialects of the *pargaṇās* of Maimansing, Susung, Hosainshāhī, Nasir-ujīāl and Khāliyājuṛī have a great deal of resemblance.

In the *Ālāpsing pargaṇā* a little dialectal variance is distinctly noticeable with different stress (?) and intonation systems. This variety showing some typical turns of expression with different grammatical forms has affinities, to some degree, with the dialects of the *pargaṇās* of Bhāwāl of Dacca district, Jāfarshāhī of Maimansing, etc. The dialect of *Ālāpsing* has also great points of similarity with that of Sherpur, Kāgmāri and Pukhuriyā *pargaṇās* of the Jāmālpur subdivision, where it may be presumably said to merge. In recent years, the dialect of Susung *pargaṇā* is also being influenced by that of *Ālāpsing*. In order to form a rough idea of the differences between the dialect of *Ālāpsing-Kāgmāri pargaṇā* and that of Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā, a few salient features may be discussed.

The pronouns [āmāder] "ours", [tomāder] or Cal. Col. [toder] "yours", [tāhāder] or Cal. Col. [tāder] "theirs", appear as [āmugarer], [tumugarer] and [hegarer] res-

pectively in the dialect of Ālāpsing-Kāgmāri *pargaṇā*, and [āmār] [tumar] and [tārār] in the Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā dialect.

The imperative verbs [jān] (you) go, [khān] (you) eat (honorific) become [dzāyen] [khāyen] in the Ālāpsing dialect and [dzāukhāin] and [khāukhāin] in the Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā dialect.

The verbs used in the present continuous tense, such as [jāiteche] or [jācche] in the Cal. Col. "is or are going", [āsiteche] or [āsche] in the Cal. Col. "is or are coming", [diteche] or [dicche] in the Cal. Col. "is or are giving", take the form of [dzābār lāgse], [āsār lāgse] and [dibār lāgse] in the dialect of Ālāpsing *pargaṇā* and [dzāitāse] [āitāse] and [ditāse] respectively in the Kishorganj-Netrakoṇā dialect.

The dialect of E. Mym. specially (Kishorganj) closely resembles that of Brāhmaṇbāriyā and Habiganj subdivisions in the districts of Tipperah and Sylhet respectively, and this linguistic unity may be said to have existed from the earliest time. Kishorganj has also great linguistic hold on the neighbouring Maheśvar-dī *pargaṇā* in Dacca; and there is rather close social intercourse among the inhabitants of E. Mym., Sylhet, Tipperah and Maheśvar-dī. The lower classes people such as Kaivarttas, Jhālas, Mālas, Bhuinmālis, Namasūdras etc. have a few caste peculiarities in their speech. Their dialect is very indistinct, and sometimes it becomes practically impossible to understand or grasp the meaning of what they speak. For this reason, the words are difficult to be written down properly and adequately. Up till now, they are lamentably backward in education and social status.

In the north-east of the district of Maimansing a mongrel form of east Bengal dialect is spoken by the hill tribes (generally Hazāng and Gāro etc., forming a branch of the Tibeto-Burman people) at the foot of the Gāro hills. They most probably preserve some characteristics of

Tibeto-Burman dialects. [See Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. V. p. 209]

The dialect of the Susang *parganā* being considerably influenced by that of the neighbouring hill tribes at the foot of the Gāro hills has absorbed some peculiar forms and expressions with a slight change of stress and intonation.

Now, with the rapid increase of Mohammadan population in the district, quite a number of Perso-Arabic words occur in the every-day language of the people. The Mohammadans sometimes use a good number of Arabic and Persian words in their Bengali. Some Mohammadans have now settled in the district of Naogaō and other interior parts of Assam, and in this way the E. Mym. dialect may be said to be penetrating there.

Before concluding, we may observe that as in the case of the other dialects, there should be a supply of good texts in the shape of folk-tales, legends, popular poetry, and proverbs, besides collection of special dialectal words for a proper study of the Bengali of E. Mym. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and S. Chandra Kumar De have enriched the literature of Bengal and India also by discovering and publishing the well-known Maimansing ballads. But the dialect of these ballads is not the actual spoken *patois* but rather a literary form with copious Maimansing intermixture. Still, they show a surprisingly large number of old forms and words. Similar other works are now lying scattered here and there in the remote corners of the villages of E. Mym., and when these will be collected, they will reveal, among other things, many interesting facts relating to the settlement of the villages in the early times by immigrants from other parts of Bengal, and such works will particularly help us to understand the nature of the dialect. These points will therefore, be of utmost importance from both the literary and the linguistic standpoints.

Krishnapada Goswami.

## A LAW OF VISARGA-SANDHI IN RKSAMHITĀ

The eightfold path of the Visarga in Sandhi is well-known in ancient Indian grammatical literature, and the phonological and linguistic moments influencing its behaviour have been discussed fairly exhaustively. Yet it seems never to have been suggested, at least by any modern writer, that the metre might have played a part in deciding the conversion or otherwise of a final *s* into Visarga. This is all the more remarkable, because it is quite obvious that the Visarga affects the metre in quite a different way than any other sound: in short, every Visarga enforces a break in the rhythm of every verse in which it may occur.

Phonetically there is no reason why a Visarga should not combine in Sandhi with *k* and *p* just as it does with *c* and *t*. In the Rksamhitā the Visarga before *k*, *p* actually assumes its original sibilant form in all the cases of internal Sandhi (i. e. in compounds) with the exception of *purāḥ-prasavaṇāḥ* (Wackernagel, I, p. 341), and Pāṇini VIII. 3.38 ff. gives a large number of Vedic and classical examples on this point. But the behaviour of the Visarga before *k*, *p* in external Sandhi is so anomalous that the author of the Rkprātiśākhya (IV. 41 ff.) had to adopt the desperate course of practically enumerating separately all the cases of this "irregular" Sandhi.

Yet it had not escaped the eye of the author of this Prātiśākhya that the metre plays an important part in deciding the behaviour of the Visarga in external Sandhi, for the Prātiśākhya (IV. 56-57) clearly lays down that the Visarga will revert to the original sibilant in "*divās pári*", "*divās prthivya*" etc. when such groups stand at the beginning or end of a pāda. It is of course not clear from this whether the author of the Prātiśākhya considered the position in the pāda to be the true deciding factor in this Sandhi, for his sūtras in this regard may be also construed

as quite an empirical attempt to cover the cases in view by simply indicating, in the most convenient manner possible, the position of such transmutable Visargas. Yet, to the credit of the author of the Prātiśākhya it has to be admitted that it is a fact that this "irregular" Visarga-sandhi is the normal rule at the beginning or end of a pāda, whereas the same word-group appears with a Visarga if it occurs in the middle of it. The purpose of the present article is to show that the principle enunciated by the author of the Rkprātiśākhya with regard to particular word-groups was in fact a general rule,—in so far as this can be proved by demonstrating that wherever this Sandhi takes place, particularly in the simplest octosyllabic verse-feet, there is no break in the rhythm of the metre.

But what is a break in the rhythm of an octosyllabic verse-foot? The pāda is regarded as the irreducible metrical unit so far as the use of words is concerned, for a word is not spread over two pādas. Yet, from purely metrical point of view, even the simple Gāyatrī pāda is equally divided into the opening and the cadence: and it is certainly no fortuitous coincidence that in no case the retained original sibilant in external Sandhi before *k*-, *p*- coincides with this break between the opening and the cadence. To take an example:

VI. 16. 35: *gārbhe mātuh pitús pitá.*

Here it is quite clear that the metrical break after *mātuh* is wholly responsible for its visarga, and that the conversion of the visarga into *s* in *pitús* is solely due the fact that there is no such break after it. But it is necessary at this stage to separate a number of misleading examples in which a visarga "irregularly" assumes the sibilant form before *k* or *p*. In fact these are not true cases of external Sandhi at all, though they have been treated as such. These are simply cases of verbal or vocative enclitics, and therefore the appearance of internal Sandhi in evidence in them is but as it should be. To confine

ourselves only to examples occurring in octosyllabic verse-feet, there are eight cases of "irregular" Sandhi which may be explained by verbal enclisis:—

I. 86. 9: *āvīṣ karta mahitvanā*

I. 86. 10: *jyōtiṣ kartā yād uśmāsi*

VI. 61. 11: *sārasvatī nidās pātu*

VIII. 6. 30: *jyōtiṣ paśyanti vāsarām*

VIII. 72. 1: *haviṣ kṛṇudhvam ā gamat*

VIII. 75 11: *ūrukṛd urū nas kṛdhi*

X. 97. 9: *yād āmāyati nīṣ kṛtha*

X. 158. 1: *sūriyo no divās pātu*

In three other cases the sibilant, instead of Visarga, appears before accented verb-forms; but they too are suspect, in so far as it may be urged that these forms, though accented, did not yet enjoy the full status of an independent word. The cases are:—

I. 46. 3: *yād vāṃ rátho víbhiṣ pátāt*

VIII. 84. 6: *adhā tuāṃ lí nas kárah*

VIII. 91. 4: *kuvín no vāsyaśas kárat*

Lastly we have to exclude also the three cases of vocative enclisis coming within our purview, for the non-conversion of the sibilant into Visarga may be explained in their case too as the normal result of internal Sandhi:—

I. 46. 9: *divās kaṇvāsa índavaḥ*

VI. 16. 13: *rákṣā ṇo brahmaṇas kave*

VIII. 17. 14: *vāstoṣ pate dhruvā sthūṇā*

It is to be noted however that although these fourteen cases of *s*, instead of Visarga, before *k p*, are set apart as inconclusive to prove the point in issue, the metrical position of the *s* in all of them is analogous to that in *pītús* in VI. 16.35 quoted above, and radically different from that of the Visarga in *mātúḥ* in the same verse. Their joint testimony therefore seems to suggest that even the grammatically justifiable cases of *s* before *k p* tend to occur by preference in those positions where the metre demands a particularly close association between the sibilant and the guttural and labial surds. If now it is found that also in

*all* the other analogous cases, in which no grammatical motive can be traced, the *s* before *k p* exactly corresponds metrically to that of *pitús* in that verse, the conclusion becomes irresistible, I think, that the metrical moment is the main, and not a minor, factor in preserving the sibilant before these sounds. There are altogether twenty-two cases of conversion of a Visarga into *s*—or rather the retention of the original sibilant—before guttural and labial surds in octosyllabic verse-feet, to which, as showing a clear break between the opening and the cadence, the present enquiry is confined, and it is a fact that every one of them agrees in metrical position with the sibilant in VI. 16, 35 in so far as no metrical break intervenes after it. In order not to encumber the article with quotations which can be easily verified, I shall content myself here only with giving reference to these twenty-two octosyllabic verse-feet in which a final sibilant remains unchanged before initial *k-* or *p-*: I. 42, 1; 46, 8; 50, 7; 79, 5; 80, 16; 105, 3; 6; VI. 16, 35; VIII. 2, 39; 6, 10; 47; 28, 1; 60, 5; 19; 91, 7; IX. 10, 9; 12, 8; 39, 4; X. 72, 3; 97, 5; 162, 2; 191, 1.

We have thus examined all the thirty-six cases of final *-s* before initial *k-* *p-* falling within the limited scope of the present article. The chief fact regarding them is that not even in one of this good number of passages showing the “irregular” Visarga-sandhi is there a metrical break<sup>1</sup>—as we have defined it—between the delinquent sibilant and the following guttural or labial surd. This seems to suggest that in external Sandhi the Visarga was the rule only when it was favoured by a pause or break in the metre; otherwise the sibilant was quite free to appear as before corresponding palatal and dental. The pause-form however gradually extended its sphere of action at the expense of that of the sibilant.

Batakrishna Ghosh



## INDO-IRANICA

[OP.=Old Persian; OIA.=Old Indo-Aryan.]

### 1. OP. IX raucabiš θakatā āha

This clause of datation occurs several times in the Behistan Inscriptions of Darius. The construction has offered great obstacle to the interpreters of the OP. texts, in as much as raucabiš, an instrumental plural form, appears as nominative singular or plural, while θakatā does not agree with it. The construction however is quite normal, if we take the numeral to be the nominative, θakatā a predicative objective, and raucabiš an instrumental of identity. It should then be thus translated—"9 by days completed were." θakatā is the neuter plural of the past participle of √θak, OIA. śak. This root must have possessed originally the sense "to pass, to cross over:" cf. OIA. pārāyati, tarāti "crosses over>is able."

In the clause I rauca θakatam āha [III, 8] "1 day completed was" rauca is nominative singular in apposition to the numeral.

### 2. OP. frāišayam

In OP. the verb fra+√iṣ (OIA. pra+√iṣ) means "to send forth an expedition." This intransitive use of the transitive verb occurs in OIA. also, especially in Epic Sanskrit: e.g., *tvaritaṃ Devayānyātha preṣitaṃ pitur ātmanaḥ* "Devayānī speedily sent (word) to her father" [Mbh]; *sa.....Kṣattuh sampreṣayāmāsa* "he sent (a message or messenger) to Kṣattr" [Mbh.].

### 3. OIA. -nibha-

In OIA. -nibha- occurs only as the second member of a compound, and expresses similarity. Its apparent derivation from ni+√bhā is rather far-fetched. It is undoubtedly connected with OP. naiba- (=MP. nēv; NP. nēk, nik<MP. nēvak) "beautiful."

4. OP. *iyam*

In OP. *iyam* "this" is masculine. In OIA. it is feminine. In Niyā Prakrit it is used as masculine or neuter: *e.g.*, *yīyo* (= *iyam*) *pravamṇaga* "this document", It appears that even after the Indo-Aryan period there was dialectal uncertainty as regards the gender of the pronominal forms *iyam* and *ayam*. In the Shahbazgarhi Inscription of Aśoka and in Pali, *ayam* is used as feminine also. In Ārdha-māgadhī it is used in all the three genders.

5. OIA. *śaikya-*, *śaikyāyasa-*, *śaikyāyasī-*

In the Mahābhārata *śaikyā-*, *śaikyāyasī-* frequently occur as adjectives of weapons like *gadā*, *śakti* etc. Thus: *śaikyāṃ gadām* [Śalya 11-15]; *sarva-śaikyāṃ gadām* [Droṇa 182-10], *śaikyāyasīm gadām* [Śalya 3-25]; *śaikyāyasāni varmāṇi* [Droṇa 117.38] etc. Sometimes *sarvāyasī-* stands for *sarvaśaikyāyāsī-*: *e.g.*, *sarvāyasīṇi śaktīm* [Karna 49.12], *eto*.

*Saikya-* is apparently a derivative of *śekya-* or *śikya-* with *vrddhi*, and probably meant "stony" or "hard as stone," Indo-Iranian \**śikā* occurs in OP. as *θikā* "stone, rubble," and probably survives in OIA. *sikatā* (also *śikatā*) "sand". It also features in the compound *sekyā-kāra* "stone-engraver>metal-engraver" which occurs in a seventh-century inscription from Central Bengal, and is the source of Bengali *sekarā* "gold- or silver-smith" [Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 181, derives *sekyā-* from Iranian, as a Middle Iranian loan-word from Syriac.].

*Saikyāyasa-* would then mean "made of hard metal (steel?)." The compound base *śikāyas-* (*śikāyas*) seems to occur in the OP. place-name (a 'didā' or citadel in Media) *sik[y]uvtiš* which may be normalized either as \**sikaya(x)uvatiš* or \**saikaya(x)uvatiš* (OIA. \**śikāyasvatī* or \**śaikāyasvatī*).

6. OIA. *pāraśava-*, *pāraśavi*

Like *śaikyāyasa-*, *śaikyāyasi-* discussed above, OIA. *pāraśava-*, *pāraśavi-* also appear in the *Mahābhārata* as adjectives of weapons like *śakti-*, *gadā*, *bāṇa*, etc. Thus; *sarvapāraśavīm śaktim* [Droṇa 121.23]; *sarvapāraśavair bāṇaiḥ* [Śalya 15.14], etc. The derivation from *paraśu-* "axe" must be rejected as giving little sense. Is it connected with *\*par(a)śava-*, OP. *parθava* "Parthia"? Does it suggest that steel (?) was formerly imported from that region?

7. OIA. *-cara-*

In the sense of remote past, Pāṇini prescribes the secondary affix *-cara-*: *bhūtapūrve carāt* [5.3.53]; *ṣaṣṭhyā rūpya ca* [5.3.54]. Grammatical examples are: *ādhyacarah* "one who had been rich"; *kṛṣṇacarah gauḥ* "a bull that had belonged to Kṛṣṇa;" etc. This affix *-cara-*, however, is a derivative of the palatalized indefinite-interrogative pronominal base *ca-* with the affix *-ra*. A parallel form is *cira-* of which the base is *ci-*. The *ca-* base occurs in OIA. *ca*; MIA. *cu* (cf. OIA. *tu*), *carahi* (<\**carhi*, cf. OIA. *yarhi tarhi*, etc.); in Avestan *cahmāi*, *cahya* etc.

8. OP. *nyāka*, *apanyāka*

OP. *nyak* (normalized *nyāka*) "grand-father" seems to be a derivative from the preposition *ni* with the affix *-āka*; cf. OIA. *parāka*, *anūka*, *abhīka-*, *pratīka-* etc. The original sense of *nyāka*, like OIA. *nyak* (*nyac*) seems to have been "growing downward, having offshoots or offspring." OP. *apanyāka* "great grand-father" is a compound of *apa* "away, further removed" + *nyāka*.

9. OP. *artācā brazmaniy.*

In the newly discovered Persepolis Inscription of Xerxes [Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 8, pp. 56-77; Kent, *Language*, 13, pp. 292-305], the

phrase- *artācā brazmaniy* occurs thrice in connection with Ahura-mazda. These are the occurrences:

*Yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiy avadā adum a(h)uramazdām ayadaiy artācā brazmaniy* "where formerly *Daivas* (false gods) were worshipped there I worshipped Ahura-mazda *artācā brazmaniy*" [ll. 39-41].

*a(h)uramazdām yadaiyū artācā brazmaniy* "may you worship Ahuramazda *artācā brazmaniy*" [ll. 50-51].

*martiya hya.....a(h)uramazdām yadaiy artācā brazmaniy hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavatiy utā mrtā artāvā bavatiy* "the man who...worships Ahura-mazda *artācā brazmaniy*, he when alive becomes happy, when dead becomes possessed of *arta*" [ll. 51-59].

Various attempts have been made to explain *artācā brazmaniy*, but none is satisfactory. Herzfeld translates " 'Rtam dem brazmanischen' "; he takes *rtā* as sociative instrumental and *brazmaniy* in apposition to it [op. cit. p. 96]. But *brazmaniy* is anything but instrumental singular, and the construction would be barbarous. Kent offers a similar explanation [op. cit.]. H. Hartmann [*Orientalistische Literatur-zeitung*, 40, columns 145-160] normalizes *brazmaniya*, following the Elamite text *pirracmanniya*, and takes it to be locative singular *brazmaniy* followed by the postpositive *ā* (appearing as a short vowel in the text). He equates OP. *brazmān-* with Av. *barəsmān-* in sense, and takes *rtā* as instrumental of means. Hartmann therefore translates the first passage thus: "Ich verehrte den Ahura-mazda durch *arta* und beim *brazman*." But this interpretation hardly improves the sense.

It is best to take *artā* and *brazmaniy* as nom.-acc. neuter plural; *arta-* (=OIA. *rtā-*) would mean "fulfilment," and *brazmān-* (=OIA. *brāhman-*) "divine." The phrase *artācā brazmaniy* should thus be translated: "and divine fulfilments"; *artācā* then would mean "possessed of (spiritual) fulfilments, i.e. blessed."

## POSTSCRIPT

The lamented death of Dr. A. C. Woolner has been a very great set-back for the activities of the *Linguistic Society of India*. The work of the Society from the very nature of the case (the membership being extremely limited, and scattered in a few Universities over the whole of India) had to be restricted to the publication of the Journal. Want of financial security, lack of the requisite proximity of the active workers of the Society with each other, and other reasons, prevented for some time past the regular publishing of the Journal. The members of the Society could meet only once in two years on the occasion of the All-India Oriental Conference, when delegates from different parts of India assembled, and even then all our active members could not always come. At the last Oriental Conference, held at Trivandrum in 1937, it was decided to transfer the centre of the Society from Lahore to Calcutta. There has been in existence in the University of Calcutta since the year 1931 a small *Philological Society* consisting of less than half-a-dozen members, excluding the students who are interested in the subject, and this society has had some activity all along in holding meetings and discussions on topics of linguistic interest. It was thought that those who were running this *Philological Society* should take up the work of the *Linguistic Society of India*. Accordingly the office was transferred to Calcutta, and the work taken up by some members of the staff of the University with the approval of University authorities. It took some time to receive from Lahore papers and publications as well as the funds at our disposal, and finally in March 1939 we took in hand the re-issue of the Journal in a new form. The present number is the result of our effort, and we have to apologise for many short-comings of which we are only too conscious.

With the help and co-operation of members, supporters and sympathisers in and outside Calcutta we hope that from now we shall be able to make *Indian Linguistics* the regular publication that it has always been our intention to do.

We intend to bring out four issues in the course of the year, and we invite contributions from all students of Scientific Linguistics (including Phonetics, and the linguistic aspects of the other Sciences and of Philosophy).

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

CR 555A

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# INDIAN LINGUISTICS

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## POST-POSITIVES AND PERIPHRAISIS OF CASES IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

Though periphrasis of the cases by the help of postpositives is a prominent characteristic of Middle Indo-Aryan Syntax, yet its occurrence in the earliest specimens of MIA is indeed rare. In the Asokan inscriptions there is no periphrasis worth the name. The only pre- and postpositives used there are—ante “within” and antikaṃ “to, near”, besides the insipient postpositives atha-(=attha<artha) and kāraṇa-. There is not a single occurrence of verbal postpositives, which abound in the prose canonical works in Pali. Similarly, in the Suttanipāṭa and also in the Thera- and Therī-gāthās, the nominal postpositives are very rare, and the verbal postpositives almost non-existent. In the Prakrits, periphrasis of cases with the help of postpositives is very frequent, so much so that in some idioms it is the rule. And in Buddhistic Sanskrit, periphrasis is the rule and non-periphrasis is the exception in the idioms of the local cases. In the matter of periphrasis with the help of nominal and verbal postpositives, the language of the Mahābhārata offers very many interesting idioms and instances, which from the point of view of MIA Syntax are really important.

### (1) Nominal Postpositives (and Prepositivities)

1. *anta-* “in: within, near,” ante olodhanasi “in (or, within) the harem” (J Sep II 2, D), See OSBS p. 48. jao se māraṣṣa ante tao se dūre “by as much he (is) near

Māra, by so much he (is) away (from liberation))” (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1. 5. 1. 1.). Cf. antar bhūmau nipatati “falls on the ground” (Mbh. 3. 174. 27). In early Indo-Aryan and in Iranian, antar was generally used as a prepositive. Cf. Old Persian a(n)tar imā dahyāva “within these countries” (Behistan Inscriptions, Col. I, 21).

2. \**agrataḥ*:- avi tusya pitu sug’uta yuṣme agrata uta atha aspa pratiśruta “also your father promised before you a camel and a horse” (KI. 519).

3. \**atyanta*:- tade caḍ’odade stora aṭh’ove valag’a ca dadavya acamta khotamnammi “from Caḍoda a horse and serviceable riders are to be given right to Khotan” (KI. 367).

4. *antika*:- “for, near, with, to, in, under, from, than:” hedisā ca ikā lipī tūphākantikaṃ (=genitive +antika) huvā ti “let one such edict be with you” (Sarnath Edict 6); ikaṃ ca lipiṃ hedisam eva upāsakānamtikam nikhīpātha “deposit one such edict for the laity” (ibid. 7).

vyākarami tav’antike “I shall testify to you” (Thera. 331). tathāgatasyāntike brahmacaryaṃ caritum “to lead the life of religious studentship under the Tathāgata” (Mahā.); see OSBS pp 44, 48, 50. mamāntikāt abhayaṃ pratiyācānte sma “(they) were begging protection from me” (Lalitavistara p. 103); paśyāmi kim mamāntikād abhirūpataṛaḥ ahoṣvin na iti “(I) shall see whether (he is) more beautiful than I or not” (Divya. p. 75); see OSBS pp. 29, 31.

annesim vā antie soccā “hearing (it) from others” Āyāraṅgasutta 1. 5. 6. 1); tesim’tie pannānam upalabha “having received true knowledge from them” (ibid. 1.6.4.1); sāgaracandassa antie pavvaio “(he) took the holy orders from Sāgara-candra” (Jacobi 1); etc.

Cf. Mahābhārata: yasyāntike tvam vṛjinam karoṣi “before (or, to) whom you commit sin” (1.68.27); sagarāntikam agacchat “came to Sagara (3.107.34); abhisamprāptāḥ.....mamāntikam “(they are) come to me”

(3.11.24; 3.12.102); tadāśrauṣaṃ sālvaṃ sāgaram antikāt prayāntam "then (I) heard Śālva departing from the sea (coast)" (3.20.16); na matkṛte tvayā vīra hrīḥ kāryā vanam antikāt "O hero, you should never have fear for in (or, from) the forest" (3.39.23); sa tām uddhṛtya mañjuśām utsārya jalam antikāt "catching hold of that casket and removing it from water" (3.308.6); yugapat prāpatamṣ tatra droṇasya ratham antikāt "(thousands of arrows) fell simultaneously on (or, near) the chariot of Droṇa" (4.58.69); indra-parvatam antikāt "on (or, near) Indra-parvata" (2.30.15); etc.

5. *artha*:- "for the purpose of, on behalf of" etc. bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya "many hundred thousands of animals were killed for cooking purpose" (G I 9, S, M, K, D, J); etadathā me esa kaṭe "for this purpose it has been done by me" (D-I VII 24-25).

mama arthāya "for me" (see OSBS pp. 48,49). Cf. pabbajjīṃ jīvikattho' haṃ "I have taken to the religious life for a livelihood" (Thera. 311).

parass' atthāe "for other's sake" (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1.2.3.5); kaḍaṃ paraṭṭhāe "done for other's sake" (ibid. 1.8.4.9); bhikkhaṭṭhā gāmaṃ pavittho "entered the village for the purpose of alms" (Jātaka 1), jalaṭṭhā gato "went for (i.e. in search of) water" (Jātaka 1.9.31.) etc.

Cf. Mahābhārata: vapuṣṭamārthaṃ varayāmpracakra-  
muḥ "(the ministers) chose (the king of Kāśī) as the  
husband for Vapuṣṭamā" (1.40.8); karuṣārthe "for (the  
king of) Karuṣa" (2.45.11); madarthe devitā cāyaṃ  
śakunir mātulo mama "this my uncle Śakuni will play on  
my behalf" (2.59.20); ātmanaḥ prasavasyārthe nāpaśyat  
sadṛśīṃ striyaṃ "(the sage) could not find a suitable wife  
for the sake of his own progeny" (3.96.19); nirmītāṃ  
ātmano' rthāya "created for him" (3.96.21); teṣāṃ arthena  
yācāmi tvāṃ ahaṃ vai mahānadi "O great river, I  
supplicate thee for their sake" (3.108.20); ābhyāṃ arthāya  
somaṃ tvāṃ grahīṣyasi yadi svayam "if you take by  
yourself 'soma' for these two" (3.124.15); na me

dhanañjayasyārthe prāṇā rakṣyāḥ kathamcana "(my) life would never be saved for (i.e., in exchange of, or, at the cost of the life of) Dhanañjaya" (7.109.5); etc.

6. *adhikaraṇa*:- "content, source ." yato adhikaraṇam "whenceforth" (see OSBS p. 49).

7. *antarcṇa*:- "for the sake of.-" mamāntareṇa "for me" (see OSBS p. 49).

8. \**adhas*- pippala-pāyavassa.....ahe ṭhiyā acchati "(she) remained under the *pippala* tree" (VII. p. 162).

9. \**āraka*:- yo aparicchao niggao bahudhaṇo ei bārasaṇhaṃ vāsāṇaṃ ārao "whoever, going away un-equipped, returns rich within twelve years" (VII. p. 116).

10. *upari* "over, upon, for, to:" jāi tumhovari rāo bhavissai eyasiṃ "if they have affection for you" (Jacobi 8. 35); sirimati.....cauṇhaṃ puttāṇaṃ uvari ahaṃ jāyā "I was born, after four sons, of Srimatī" (ibid. 9); asaṇivego.....tumhovariṃ samāgacchāi "Asaṇivega is coming on to you (to fight)" (ibid. 23).; maṇḍass' uvariṃ paṇḍoyassa lobho jāo "Pradyota had a desire for the crown" (ibid. 39); etc.

Of. aho mamopari vidheḥ saṃrambho dāruṇo mahān "alas, the Creator has great and intense displeasure against me!" (Mbh. 3.65.31.)

11. \**upāntc*- ede tasa vaṃti oḍ'idavo "they are to be surrendered to him" (KI 358); avi vasaṇtaṇimi uṭasa karaṇna tahi vaṃti jalpita "also in spring he had told you 'about the camel'" (KI 594); bahu cira kala huda na śakidama tahi vaṃti lekha pahud'a preṣaṇnae "a pretty long time has elapsed when we have not been able to send you a letter and present" (KI 288); etc.

12. *kāraṇa*- "because of, on account of, for": etisa va karaṇa (<kāraṇāt) "because of this" (S III 6); saṃkhaṇe karaṇa "because of mutilation or misunderstanding" (S XIV 14)=sachāya kāraṇaṃ (G; also K); isyā kālanena "because of 'envy'" (D-T III 20-21, D-M, Ra, Ma, Ram). khotasāniye iśa aitaṃti siṃmasa karaṇna "the Khotanese have come here on account of boundary" (KI 86); see KI

594 above; 580 etc. *itthiyā kāraṇā rājā bandhāpesiṃ purohitaṃ* "because of a woman the king put his priest to fetters" (*Jātaka*, ii, p. 192); *issariyassa kāraṇā* "for wealth" (*DN* i p. 85), *mama kāraṇena* "for me" (see *OSBS* p. 49).

*puṭṭhā v'ege niyaṭṭanti jīviyass'eva kāraṇā* "when (they) feel (hardships they) slide back for their life" (*Āyāraṅga-sutta* 1.6.4.1); *te ya indubindusenā anantamatīe ganiyāe kāraṇā jujhanti* "they (two) Indusena and Bindusena are fighting on account of the public woman Anantamati" (*VII*, p. 321); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *kaccid abhyāgato dūrād vaṇijo lābha-kāraṇāt* "does the merchantfolk come from from afar for the sake of profit?" (2.5.114); *viṣam agniṃ jalam rajjum āsthāsye tava kāraṇāt* "(I) shall have recourse to poison, fire water or rope on account of you (i.e., on account of your refusal to accept me)" (3.56.4); *rājan niveśe buddhir me vartate putra-kāraṇāt* "O king, I have desire for marriage for the purpose of a son" (3.98.2); *yudhyasva mama kāraṇāt* "fight on my behalf" (6.43.98); *sahasā nyapatat sainyam tāvakaṃ pārtha-kāraṇāt* "forcibly your army made an attack for (i.e., in order to seize) Pārtha" (7.105.8); etc.

13. *kārya-* "for the purpose of, on account of, belonging to": *bhogāṇa kajje kilissai* "(he) shall suffer for (sensual) pleasures" (*Jacobi* 29.35); *ciṭṭhāi tumhāka kajjeṇa* "he is staying on for your sake" (*ibid.* 78.8). *bhaṭṭake tava kelake mama yivide* "Master, my life is on account of you (i.e., I owe my life to you)" (*Śakuntalā*, Act V.); *vibhīṣaṇa-kerakā rakkhasā* "Rākṣasas belonging to Vibhīṣaṇa" (*Pratimānātaka*); *nīa-suhakajje jammo jāṇaṃ* "whose birth (is) for their own pleasure" (*Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar A 11 Ep. Ind. VIII*); etc. *śrīlolicasvāmidēvassa keripi* "for (or, on behalf of) the god Śrīlolicasvāmin" (*An Inscription of the reign of Udayāditya*, *BSOS* I, p. 86).

14. *kṛta-* "for the sake of, for the purpose of," etc. *mama kṛtena* "for me" (see *OSBS* pp. 48, 49). *yabhi anati didemi rajakicasa kridena* "when I have given an instruction for state purposes" (*KI* 272); *jaṃnana kride* "for

the sake of the people" (KI 157); yo pacema kali tasya uṭṭasya kida cudiyati vidiyati vivadu uthaviyati "whoever shall in future.....contend for that camel" (KI. 661); etc.

yassa kae..... kulam sīlam jāi jaso lajjā ya pariccattā "for whose sake the family, character, caste, reputation and shame (all) have been given up" (Jacobi 24); eyassa mukha-baḍussa kae appāṇam kheaha "for the sake of this foolish Brahman boy why do you fret?" (ibid. 6); "tujjha kae āṇiyāṇi "(these flowers) have been brought for you" (VII. p. 232); jamma-viṇāsāṇa kae jo jammo so hu kassa na hu ettha "the birth which (is) for the (ultimate) births and deaths (is) for anybody here" (The Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, A 80; Ep. Ind. VIII); etc.

Cf. Mahābhārata: tvatkṛte kartum kiñcid icchāmi "(I) want to do something for you" (2. 1. 5); kṛṣṇasya hi kṛte viśvam idaṃ bhūtaṃ carācaram "owing to Kṛṣṇa alone, all this entire universe (exists)" (2. 38. 23); śiśupālasyā-pārādhān kṣamethās tvam.....matkṛte" you should excuse the offences of Śiśupāla for my sake" (2.43.23); esā hy anarhati bālā.....tvatkṛte kliśyate "this lady undeserving (of such hardships) is suffering for (i.e., through) you" (2.68.5); mā tat-kṛte' nudhyāhi "do not be distracted for that" (2.46.16); śiśnodara-kṛte prajāṇaḥ karoti vighraṣaṃ bahu "the unwise does many sinful acts for the sake of the bodily pleasures" (3.2.65); tvatkṛte yātum icchāmi vidarbhaṇ haya-kovidā "O master of horses, through you (i.e. through your help) I want to go to (the country of) Vidarbha" (3.72.19); vivakṣitaṃ kim asyeti saṃśayaḥ sumahān abhūt | ubhayoḥ senayo rājan yudhiṣṭhira-kṛte tadā || "Regarding Yudhiṣṭhira, O king, both the armies had great curiosity as to what (might be) his reply" (6.43.34); tyaktvā mṛtyu-kṛtaṃ bhayaṃ "giving up the fear of death" (6.88.4); na te mṛtyu-kṛtaṃ bhayaṃ "you have no fear of death" (7.72.27); mahad dāha-kṛtaṃ bhayaṃ "a great fear conflagration" (1.24. 13; Vaṅgavāsī Edition)); prasanna eva tasyāhaṃ tvatkṛte varavarṇini

“O beautiful lady, I am propitious to him only for your sake” (1.67.32); etc.

15. *nidana-* “source:” *tato nidānam* “thence forth” (see OSBS p. 49).

16. *nimitta-* “for the sake of:” *mamaṃ* (D=mama) *nimittaṃ ca dhamma caley(ū)* “for me (i.e. for my sake) (they) would follow ‘dhamma’ (J Sep II 7.D); *etasa ca leṇasa gitaṇa-nimita* “for the sake of embellishment of that cave” (Nasik Cave Inscriptions No. 2; Ep. Ind. VIII).

Uf. *jalakṣaya-nimittam* “for the sake of removing water” (Mbh. 7.80. 11).

17. *para-* “beyond, after from:” *paraṃ ca tena* “after that” (G V 2, S, M, D, J; K has plural *te(hi)*); *paraṃ ca tena* “beyond that” (G XIII 8, S, K); *paraṃ maraṇā* “beyond death” (DN i p. 31).

*etāo param palehi* “get away from here” (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1.8.3.9); *ajja param* “from now” (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, B 108; Ep. Ind. VIII); etc.

Uf. *śailam inam pareṇa* “beyond yonder hill” (Mbh. 3. 111. 11).

18. *\*paritaḥ-*: *tumahu paride viṃṇati-lekha aṇitaṃti* “(they) have brought from you a written report” (KI. 494); *supiyana paride palayaṇṇag’a* “a fugitive from the Supiyas” (KI. 645); etc.

18a. *\*paśca-*: see GI 12, S,M,D,J; GXIII 1, S,MK: *raja-viloṭa paca* “since the plundering of the kingdom” (KI. 357); *tade paca* “since then” (KI. 400); etc. *tāttha aham..... chaṇhaṃ bhagiṇīṇam pacchao jāyā* “then I was born after my six sisters” (VII. p. 171-72); etc.

18b. *\*pārśva-*: *buddhā ṇaṃ•doṇṇi eyāṇi,tassa pāse* “knowing him, the two came to him” (VII. p. 297).

18c. *\*pati, prati-* “to, in, on, near:” *nadiṃ neraṇjaraṃ pati* “near the river Neraṇjarā” (SN 28. 1; Therī. 306); etc.

19. *\*pratyaya-*: *tasa uṭa praceya rayasāch’i lihitaḡ’a kridag’a* “regarding that camel, a document witnessed by the king has been procured” (KI. 165); etc.



20. *prabhṛti*:-“since”: yataḥ prabhṛti “whenceforth” (see OSBS p. 30). jato ṇaṃ pabhitiṃ “since when” (Āyāraṅga-sutta 2. 15. 10); jao ṇaṃ pabhiṃ (ibid. 2.15.12); etc.

21. *\*bahir, bāhya*:- bahiyā gāmassa “outside the village” (VII. p. 195); bāhim devakulassa “outside the temple” (VII. p. 186); etc.

22. *\*vinā*:- no mi jīviṃ samattho etīe viṇā “without her I cannot live” (VII. p. 320).

23. *madhya*- “middle, within”: aham rākṣaṣī-dvīpasya madhyena āgacchāmi “I go to the island of the demonesses” (Mahā. iii p. 287); majjhe sāgarasmim tiṭṭhanti “they stand on (the middle of) the sea” (Thera. 1190). sibiāe majjhiyāne “in the palankeen” (Āyāraṅga-sutta 2. 15. viii); sū dhannā majjhe mahilāṇa “she (is) blessed among women” (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, A 6: Ep. Ind. VIII).

Cf. Mahābhārata: kurubhyaḥ prasthitās to tu madhyena kurujāṅgalam “they left the Kurus through (the middle of) Kurujāṅgala” (2. 20. 26); madhye dhanasya tiṣṭhākū “(I) stand in riches” (4.44.13); madhye pṛthivyāḥ “on the middle of (or, within) the earth” (1.82.5); bhrātṛmadhye ’bravīd idam “said this before (or, to) the brothers” (3.3.1); madhye bhrātṛṇām (5.75.14); madhye samudrasya (5.110.11); madhye kurūṇām (5.147. 14); etc.

The Mahābhārata faithfully preserves the OIA. idiom of prepositing ‘madhye’ This use is not unknown in MIA. and has been preserved to some extent in NIA. Khotanese has also preserved this idiom (vide Leumann, Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur, Strassburg, 1919, p. 132).

24. *mūla*- “near, in, at, on from,” etc.: yadi etāya mama mūle prema bhavē “if she have any love for me” (Mahā. ii p. 55); tatra sa ṛsisya mūle.....gīta-śabdaṃ śṛṇoti “there he heard the sound of a song from (or, from near) the sage” (ibid. p. 96); mālākūrasya mūle vasitvā

“dwelling with the garland-maker” (ibid. p. 463); tataḥ so mama mūlāto gatvā tāye sārḍham āsati “then he, going away from me, sat (or lived) with her” (ibid. p. 246); etc. See OSBS p. 49.

jāva dūraṇṇ gayā, tāva tāvaso; tassa mūlaṇṇ gayā “then (she) went some distance (she saw) a hermit; she went to (or, near) him” (Jacobi 35. 29-30); māyā ya se pañño mūlaṇṇ gantūṇa savvaṇṇ jahābhūyam parikaheī “the mother, going to her husband, told (him) everything as it happened” (VII. p. 28); etc.

Cf. duryodhana kuto mūlaṇṇ bhṛśam ārto ‘si putraka” “O (my) son Duryodhana, wherefore are you so much distressed?” (Mbh. 2.49.6); sa kandenāramatāsya mūle “she played with a ball near him” (Mbh. 3. 111, 16).

25. *sakāśa-* “near, to, from:” pituḥ sakāśam āgatā “(she) came to (her) father” (Mahā. ii p. 485); imāṇṇ gāthāṇṇ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśāto śṛṇvanti “(they) hear this verse from king Brahmadatta” (Mahā. iii p. 191); uvajjhāssa saūsālo sāo “the curse (is) from the master” (Vikramorvaśī Act v.); tujjha sayāsāo kacchao garuo “the tortoise is heavier than you” (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, B 18; Ep. Ind. VIII); etc.

Cf. Mahābhārata: rājā ca mām prāhiṇot tvatsakāśam “the king has sent me to you” (2.58.11); śikṣava buddhiṇ sthaviṛāṇām sakāśāt “acquire intelligence from the old” (2.64.6); tvatsakāśāc ca rāmāc ca.....hantum śakyo na veti vai “(I am doubtful) even if (he) can be killed by you or Rāma.....” (2.15.9); teṣāṇ sakāśād aśrauṣam “(I) heard from them” (3.32.61); vatsyāmi tvatsakāśe “(I) shall live with you” (3. 65. 70); athāsti kaścid bhavataḥ sakāśāc cirajātatarah “is there any one born earlier than you?” (3. 198. 7); etc.

26. *sacā:* cojhbo yili namilg’aae saca namakero kareṃti “Cojhbo Yili along with N. makes obeisance” “(KI. 283) etc.

26a. *sant + ka (satka, sataka)-* “being, belonging to:” ya dāni etha nagarasīme rājakam kheta amhasatakam

“which (is) now here, on the limit of the town, that royal field of ours” (Nasik Cave Inscriptions no. 5; Ep. Ind. VIII.); kṣetram...sapitusataka “the field belonging to his father” (ibid. no. 10). jānyasatka-mātā praṇamati “Jānya’s mother makes obeisance” (An Inscription of the reign of Udayāditya, BSOS. I p. 86). See the use of *santika* in the Jaina Prakrits (see below).

27. *sant + ika (santika)*- “being, to, before, belonging to, from, near,” etc: labheyyāham bhoto gotamassa santike pubbajjam “may I receive religious mendicancy from the venerable Gotama” (SN 4); āgacchi te santike nāgarājā “the elephant king came to you” (SN 26. 4); tassā devatāyā santike te pañhe uggahetvā “having learnt those questions from that deity” (SN 32); atha maṃ ye santike paccāgato “who returned to me” (DN i p. 223); etc.

imaṃ ślokaṃ śreṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenasya santike bhaṇatha “utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant’s son” (Mahā. ii p. 175); bhagavato santike brahmacariyaṃ carisyāmaḥ “we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord” (Mahā.); etc.

tassa paṃ ime tinni nāmadhejjā evaṃ āhijjanti: amṇapiusaṃti vaddhamāṇe “these his three names are thus mentioned: ‘Vardhamāna’ from (his) parents” (Āyāraṅga sutta 2.15.15); esa dhavalahatthi mama santio “this white elephant belongs to me” (Jacobi 47. 1).

rāyasantikam kamalasālin ghattūna “taking good paddy of the king” (VII. p. 62); imāni mittavatī sasura-kula-santagāni bhūsaṇāni “these are the ornaments from Mitravatī’s father-in-law ‘folk’” (VII. p. 141).

Note the following idiom: esa te piṇ-uvarāmaṃmettassa santiyaṃ sirim patto “he has obtained prosperity as soon as your father died” (VII. p. 36)

28. *samanta-, sāmanta-* “round”: sphuṭibhavati sāmanta-tena yojanam “it would appear in a ‘yojana’ all round” (Lalitavistara p. 18) etc. See. UCVP p. 39; OSBS p. 48. OIA. samantam, samantāt, samantataḥ, and Buddhistic

Sanskrit *samantataḥ* and *sāmantena* though appearing to govern the spatial accusative, are, strictly speaking, no pre- or post-positives proper. But in the Asokan Inscriptions, *sāmantāt* governs the genitive: *tasa amtiyokasa samamṭa (ra)jano* (S II 4, M) = *tasa amtiyokasa sāmamṭā lājine* (J II 7, D, K) “the kings around that Antiyoka” That *samamṭā* is really an adverb, and not an adjective (*sāmamṭāḥ*) as is usually explained, is to be understood from the corresponding word *sāmīpam* in the Girnar version. Besides, ‘*sāmanta*’ in the sense of ‘vassal’ does not occur in old literature. See below.

29. *samanvāgāta-* “attended (by):” See OSBS pp. 14, 48.

30. *sama-* “together with” *guruhim samam viharanto* “moving with (i. e., in the company of) the superiors” (Jacobi 1); *laddha-sanno ya tena samam bāhu-juddhena laggo* “recovering consciousness (he began an arm-to-arm fight with him” (Jacobi 22); etc.

31. \**samaya-*: *ṣatosmi yam ca tumahu padamulaḍe arog’a śruta śāparivarena śamao* “I am happy that (I have) heard from your honour that (you are) well, along with (your) family” (KI. 702); *mae samayaṃ javana-vīsayam vaccau* “let him come with me to the country of the Yavanas” VII p. 62.

32. *samāna-* (<as + māna) “together with”: *māpesu mae samānam jōvvaṇasirim* “enjoy with me the youthful fortune” (Jacobi 43.37).

33. *samīpa-* “near, to:”: *ye vā pi tasa amtiyokasa sāmīpaṃ rājāno* “the kings (that ruled near (the territory) of Antiyoka (or under Antiyoka).” (G II 3-4); *teṇā vi tuha samīvaṃ ahaṃ pesiyā* “by him I have been sent to you” (Jacobi 34. 4); *gao ruppisamīvaṃ* “(he) went to Rukmin” (VII, p. 81); *na juttaṃ itthi-samīve attā vikattheuṃ* “it is not proper to brag before a lady” (VII, p. 81); etc.

34. *sameta-* “together with”: *niya-dhūyāe samao nara-vaiṇā pesio kumāro* “the prince was sent to the king, accompanied by his own daughter” (Jacobi 78.2); etc.

35. *sammukha-* "before, from": *sace koci bhikkhu āyasmato moliyaphaggunassa sammukhā tāsāṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati* "if any Bhikkhu speaks ill of those Bhikkhunīs before the long-lived Moliyaphagguna" (MN i, p. 112).

36. *saha-* "together with": This OIA. sociative adverb was not much preferred in MIA., especially in its later stages. But it is quite frequent in the Āyāraṅga-sutta. Examples: *sadhamatra abuholae* "together with (her) mother" (CCI II i, no. XV A); *pucchanti ve bho brāhmaṇā brahmaṇehi saha brāhmaṇo no bhavaṇṇi ti* "Sir, Brahmins together with Brahmins ask truly, 'Are you a Brahman?' " (SN 30. 3); *sukhito bāvarī hotu saha sissehi brāhmaṇo* "Let the Brāhman Bāvarī be delighted together with his disciples" (SN 55.54); *aham eva tesaṃ saha dhammena paṭivacanāṃ karissāmi* "I alone shall hold a religious discourse with them" (DN i p. 112); *tassa saha dassanena* "(simultaneously) with a sight of him" (MN i p. 30); etc.

*saha darśana-mātrena gaṇikāye tasmiṃ sārthavāhe premanāṃ nipatitam* "(simultaneously) with the look the hetaerā's love fell on that merchant" (Mahā. ii p. 168); *bodhisattva-mātulḥ saha darśanād eva* "(simultaneously) with the sight of the mother of the Bodhisattva" (Lalitavistara p. 81); *saha śravaṇād eva dhanasammataṣya rājño' marṣo vipannaḥ* "on hearing it the king Dhanasammata's anger rose" (Divya. p. 62); etc.

*saha pamāṇaṃ aṇegarūvāo jōṇō saṃdheci* "with (i.e., because of) carelessness, he is born in many births" (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1.2.2.1); etc. *khuddhehiṃ saha saṃsagginḥāsaṃ kiḍḍhaṃ ca vajjae* "(one) should avoid the company, laughing and playing with inferior persons (Uttarādhyaṇa-sutra 1.9); so *sahapamsukīlena.....mahindasīheṇa, saha.....jovvaṇaṃ anupatto* "along with Mahendrasīṃha, with whom he had played in the dust, (he) attained youth" (Jac6bi 20); etc.

37. *sahita-* "together with:" *sahio niya-panayinīe*

rāya-suo raṇa-majjhe so thakko "the kings soon stood in the battle-field, together with his beloved (wife)" (Jacobi 78.29-30); devīsaṇa sahio "accompanied by a hundred queens" (ibid. 25); etc.

Cf. yudhyasya sahito'smābhiḥ "fight with (i. e., against) us" (Mbh. 7.157.24).

38. *sārdha-* "together with." This is by far the most common sociative adverb in MIA. It also expresses other than the sociative relations. Examples: sabhaḍḍaṣa savalabhaḍa pitra sarddha ca "together with (his) father Balabhadra" (CCI II i, no. IX); mama saddhiṃ sammodipsu "chatted with me" (DN i p.157); tehi pi me saddhiṃ ekaccesu thāṇesu sameti ekaccesu thāṇesu na sameti "with (i.e., between) them and me there is, as to some points, agreement, and as to some points, not" (DN i p. 162); etc.

so dāni nāgarājā ugrasenena kāśirājñā sarddham ekaparyāṅkena niṣaṇṇo "then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāśī" (Mahā, ii p.179); uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītuh sarddham vipraduṣṭo "corrupted with the daughter of Uttiya the merchant" (Mahā, i p. 86); etc.

jehiṃ vā saddhiṃ samvasati "with whom (he) lives" (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1.2.1.2); ego egathie saddhiṃ neva ciṭṭhe na samlāve "one should neither remain nor talk with a solitary woman" (Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra 1.26); etc.

39. In the Nīya Prakrit *śadho* (<*sadha* or *sārdha*) is construed with the instrumental and the genitive. In the latter idiom it means "of the part of" or "from". Examples:

toṃmihi sadha iśa visajidavo "(it) should be sent here along with the *toṃmis*" (KI. 165); bhutartha esa bharya sadha kuci rajammi palayite hutamti "it is true (he is) fled to the Kuci territory with (his) wife" (KI. 632); yaṃ kaḷammi atra caḍ'odammi khotaniyana sadha akula hutamti (or huati) "at the time when in C. there

was trouble from the Khotanīs” (KI 515); viharavaḥsa sadha “on the part of the monastery-master” (KI. 358); etc.

40. *hasta-* “at the hand of, through, to, from,” etc. : data cānena kṣetram brāhmaṇasa vārāhiputrasa āsvibhūtisa hathe kīṇitā mulena kāhāpaṇasahasrehi catuhi ca sapitusatāka “a field has also given by him, bought at the hands of (i.e., from) the Brahman Āsvibhūti the son of Vārāhī, for the price of four thousand ‘kāhāpaṇas,’ which (i.e., the field) belonged to his father” (Nasik Cave Inscriptions, no. 10; Ep. Ind. VIII); kularikaśreṇyā haste kāṛṣāpaṇasahasra “a thousand ‘kāṛṣāpaṇas’ (have been invested) with the ‘Kularika’ guild” (ibid. no. 15); data ca nena akhayanivi kāhāpaṇa-sata saṃghasa hathe “a hundred ‘kāhāpaṇas’ have been given (i.e., invested) by him at the hands of (i.e., with) the assembly as a perpetual trust” (ibid. no. 17).

It is of very frequent occurrence in the Niya Prakrit; e.g., emeka leharag’asa hastammi lekha iśa prahatavo “a letter should be despatched here in the hand of a letter-carrier” (KI. 165); etc.

gāndhikānām haste vikrītāḥ “(it) was sold to the perfumers” (Mahā. iii p. 34); yadi icchatha rākṣasīnām hastāto mokṣam “if (you) wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses” (Mahā. iii p. 75); etc.

41. *\*adhiṣṭāt* (>heṭṭhā, hiṭṭhā) “under, below, from :” rājatalāka-heṭṭhe “below the king’s tank” (British Museum Plates of Cārudevī, I; Ep. Ind. VIII). tassa eva pāsādassa heṭṭhā “at the foot of that palace” (DN i, p. 198); heṭṭhāto veḷu-gumbasmiṃ “from the bamboo grove” (Thera, 919); etc.

aḥjaṃ hiṭṭhā “from today (?)” (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar B 47; Ep. Ind. VIII); vaṭa-pāyavassa heṭṭhā “under a banian tree” (Jacobi i); etc.

42. *hetu-* “because of, for the purpose of,” etc. akhaya (nīvi)-hetu “because of perpetual trust (i.e., as a perpetual trust)”; (Nasik Cave Inscriptions, no 3; Ep. Ind.

VIII); *kissa hetu musā bhaṇe* "for what reason should (one) speak falsely?" (SN 72. 8); etc. *dukkha-parighāya-heṇṇ* "for the purpose of removing misery" (Āyāraṅga-sutta 1. 1. 1. 7); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *bhīmaṇ te vivyadhus tūrṇaṇ śalya-hetor arindamāḥ* "the warriors quickly covered Bhīma (with arrows) for the sake of (i.e., in order to save) Śalya" (6. 113. 23); *dhṛṣṭaketuṁ athāyāntaṁ droṇa-hetoḥ* "then (seeing) Dhṛṣṭaketu advancing for (i.e., to kill or capture) Droṇa" (7.105.6); etc.

43. The following additional postpositives (mostly insipient ones) occur in the *Mahābhārata*. The OIA preverbs that occur as postpositives in Sanskrit have not been included.

1. *agra-* "before, to, for:" *teṣāṁ agre notsahe sthātum eva* "(I) do not even dare stand before them" (2.67.36); *gatvā bāhukasyāgre* "going to Bāhuka" (3. 75. 21); *khaḍgaṇ cānyataraṇ prepsuṁ mṛtyor agre jayāya vā* "wishing to strike another sword for death or for victory" (6.119.69; 7.137.62).

2. *an̄ka-* "near:" *āsīnāṁ pitur an̄ke* "seated near (her) father" (3.32.62).

3. *antara-* "within, in:" *pr̥tanāntaram* "in the army (or, battle)" (7.105.31).

4. *abhyāsa-* "near, to" etc.: *jagāma pāvakābhyāsam* "went to fire" (3.224.1); *dadarśa tryambakābhyāse vāsu-deva-niveditam* "(he) saw near Tryambaka (the things) offered by Vāsudeva" (7.79. 2); etc.

5. *upahvara-* "near:" *prahvo 'bhavad bhrātur upahvare saḥ* "he stood bowing before his (eldest) brother" (3.165.5); *pahvare vāsudevasya* "before (or near) Vāsudeva" (5.48.3.)

6. *gocara-* "near, before:" *yuvā yauvana-gocare* "a youngman in (his) youth" (1. 76. 24).

7. *pārśva-* "near, to:" *jagāma himavat-pārśvam* "(he) went to the Himavant" (3. 108. 3); *pārthasyaiva Mahā-bāhuḥ pārśvam āgād arindamaḥ* "the long-armed warrior came to (i.e., joined) the son of Pr̥thā" (7.76.43).



8. *purā*- "before:" *purā dyūtāt* "before the dice game" (2. 63. 9); *purā yuddhāt* "before (i. e. without) war" (2. 74. 8; 5. 22. 9; 5. 49. 45); etc.

9. *prsthā*- "on, over:" *tato' haṃ himavat-prsthe samārabdhō mahā-vratam* "then I began a great religious session on the Himvāt" (2.11.9).

10. *mukha*- "at the beginning, at, in:" *nihataḥ prtanā-mukhe* "killed in battle" (6.109.29).

11. *sannidhi*- "before to, in, among," etc.: *tato'haṃ lokapālānāṃ sannidhau tvām.....varayiṣye* "then I shall choose you (as my husband) before (i.e., in, presence of) the principal gods" (3.56.21); *tad abravīt sannidhau mātuh* "said to his mother" (3.70.22); *tad yuddham abhavat.....samājotsava-sannidhau* "that fight happened on (the occasion of) the religious festival" (4.13.30); etc.

12. *samākṣa*- "before, to:" *yat tvayoktam nara-śreṣṭha mat-samākṣam* "O best of men, what you had said to me (or, before me)" (3.64.15); etc.

13. The following is a very interesting instance where a present participle has been used to denote the possessive genitive: *kauravānāṃ kule jātaḥ pāṇḍoḥ putro viśeṣataḥ | droṇaṃ vyapadiśan śiṣyo vāsudeva-sahāyavān | bhīto'smī'ti katham brūyāṃ dadhāno gāṇḍivam dhanuḥ ||* "Born in the race of the Kurus, especially (being) a son of Pāṇḍu, being a disciple of Droṇa (lit. a disciple to, or in respect of Droṇa), having Vāsudeva as (my) helper, (and) holding the bow (Gāṇḍiva, how can I say that I am frightened?" (5.157.27).

## (2) Verbal Postpositives

44. The verbal postpositives are all conjunctives or absolutives ending in -ya (rarely ending in -tvā). These are very rare in the oldest stratum of MIA but are quite abundant in its later stages. In the Jaina Prakrits (also in literary Prakrits), however, the verbal postpositives are extremely rare. The use of the principal verbal post-

positives in MIA is illustrated below. Some of the postpositives are no doubt of the insipient type.

45. *adhikṛtya* "starting from, regarding." *musāvādaṃ adhigicya* (= *adhigṛhya* + *adhikṛtya*) *bhagavata budhena bhāsīte* "told by the lord Buddha on the matter of falsehood" (Bairat-Bhabra 6); cf. *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe* "in a work on the matter of..." (Paṇini 4.3.87).

46. *anvāya* (<anu+ay) "following, in consequence of, because of:" *tesaṃ saṃvāsaṃ anvāya putto jāyetha* "from their intercourse a son should be born" (DN i p. p. 97).

47. *āgamyā* "coming from, regarding, because of:" *kim āgamyā* "about what" (DN i p. 28); etc.

*yā kācid asmākaṃ śrī-saubhāgya-sāmpat sarvāsaṃ budhaṃ bhagavantam āgamyā* "whatever beauty, fortune, or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha" (Dīvyāvadāna p. 95); see OSBS p. 48.

48. *ārabhya* "beginning from, regarding," etc.: *kim ārabhya* "with reference to what" (DN i p. 28); *tassa mayhaṃ bhante bhagavantam yeva ārabhha sati udapādi* "then the memory of the Lord arose in me" (DN i p. 180); *tassa mayhaṃ bhante bhagavantam yeva ārabhha pīti udapādi* "there arose in me a respect for the Lord" (MN ii p. 31); etc. See OSBS p. 48.

49. *āsādyā, samāsādyā* "coming to, by means of, to, on," etc. *kāko va seḷaṃ āsajja nivvijāpema gotamaṃ* "like the crow with the pebble (lit. coming to the pebble) (we) shall go away from Gotama (in disgust)" (SN 28.24).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *agastyam ṛṣim āsādyā jṛṇaḥ krūro mḥāsuraḥ* "the terrible, cruel demon was digested by Agastya" (3.205.27); *nedṛṣaṃ bāndhum āsādyā bāndhavaḥ sukham edhate* "a relative does not find pleasure with such a relative" (5.133.18); *na hi vairam samāsādyā sīdanti puruṣarṣabhāḥ* "great men do not lose heart in conflict" (5.137.10); *na vai samyag idaṃ putra viṣṇuṃ āsādyā vai kṛtam* "O son this has not been done well by Viṣṇu"

(3.99.67); eṭad idṛśakam tāta rāmeṇākliṣṭakarmanā | prāptam āsīn mahārāja viṣṇum āsādyā vai purā || “O son, this much had been received by the idelfatigable Rāma from Viṣṇu” (3.99.71); tataḥ prakāśam āsādyā punar yuddham avartata “then again in the light (i.e., when night dawned) the battle started again” (4.33.3); ātmano buddhi-daurbalyād bhīṣmam āsādyā keśava | vanam yāsyāmi vārṣṇeya śreyo me tatra jīvitum ||” Owing to the weakness of my own intelligence and owing to Bhīṣma (i.e., on account of his victories in the war), O Keśava, scion of the Vṛṣṇis! I shall go to the forest, (and) it is better for me to live there” (6.50.9); dakṣiṇam pakṣam āsādyā sthitāḥ “(they) took their stand on the right wing” (6.56.8); śerate bhūmim āsādyā “(they) lie on the ground” (7.91.54); etc.

50. *uddiśya* “regarding, for the benefit of, because of” etc.: mātāpitāro udisa ima leṇa kārītaṁ “this cave has been built for (i.e., for the religious merit of) (my) parents” (Nasik Cave Inscriptions, no 18, Ep. Ind. VIII); kīṁ nu uddissa muṇḍāsi “where-fore are you shaven-headed?” (Therī 183); yāni kho niccadānāni.....silavante pabbajite uddissa “the gifts that are made to (lit., intended for) virtuous recluses” (DN i p. 144); yo kho....catuddisaṁ saṅgham uddissa vihāraṁ karoti “who indeed builds a monastery for the assembly all round” (DN i p. 145.); na dānāham bhaggava bhagavantam uddissa viharāmi “I do not now, O Bhaggava, wander under (the commandment of) the Lord” (DN iii p. 2); sutam metam bhante samaṇaṁ gotamam uddissa paṇaṁ ārabhanti “I have heard sir, (that) they kill animals for the Samaṇa Gotama” (MN i p. 368); etc.

adhivāsāyatu bhagavāḥ ārya-mahākāśyapam uddiśya bhaktam saptāhena “may your lordship accept food for a week with the reverend Mahākāśyapa (lit., the food or feast celebrating Mahakāśyapa)” (Divya. p. 85); śeṣāḥ punaḥ stūpaḥ mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ “the rest of the ‘stupas’ should be built for me” (Saddhar. p. 241); mama uddiśya āgato “come for me” (Mahā. iii p. 361); etc.

ahaṃ...tumaṃ uddisiūṇa āgato "I have come for you" (VH. p. 118).

In the Nīya Prakrit it governs a sentence. Thus: tatra sach'i nasti udiś'a "as there is no witness there" (KI. 29); adeli tusya mahatvana paride no kimeī śrunammi udiśa ahuno sadavita kolp'isasya hastammi vocarī 2 prahidemi" "from there I have not heard anything from your Highness, because of (this) I have called Kolp'isa and sent 2 vocarīs in his hand" (KI. 159); etc.

Cf. Mahābhārata: kiñcit kārāṇam uddiśya somo' yaṃ nīyate mayā "for some reason this 'soma' is being taken away by me" (1.30.8); vane vāsam uddiśya "for the purpose of dwelling in the forest" (3.5.1); svarge vāsam samuddiśya "for dwelling in heaven" (3.108.27); etc.

51. *upanidhāya* "because of, for the sake of:" na parass' upanidhāya kammaṃ maccassa pāpakaṃ" men (are) not responsible for actions of others" (Thera 496); taṃ dibbassa sukhassa upanidhāya saṃghaṃ pi na upeti "because of that divine pleasure, (he) does not come to the assembly even" (MN iii p. 177); etc.

52. *upaniśrāya* upaniśritya, āśritya, "near, at, on, from," etc.; tass'eva upaniśsāya gāmo ca vipulo ahu "and close by the (bank) there was a large village" (SN 55,3); etc.

tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavāñ chrāvastīm mahānagarīm upaniśritya viharati sma "at that time the lord, resorting to the great city of Śrāvastī, was roaming (i.e., was roaming in the great city of Śrāvastī)" (Lalitavistara p. 2); etc. See § 44.

cf. Mahābhārata: prāguttarām diśaṃ ye ca vasanty āśritya dasyavaḥ "those aboriginal people who live on the north-east region" (2. 27. 24); kopitāḥ pāṇḍavā nityaṃ samāśritya suyodhanaṃ "the sons of Pāṇḍu are always angered on account of Suyodhana" (6. 122. 27); vad-bāhubalam āśritya "through the the strength of your arms" (3,242. 14); arjunaṃ ye ca saṃśritya rājaputrā

mahābalāḥ || asikṣanta dhanurvedaṃ rauravājinavāsasaḥ  
“those mighty princes, wearing deer skin, who learnt  
archery from Arjuna” (2.4.33-34); etc.

53. *upādāya, ādāya* “regarding, by, with, from,”  
etc.: *kissa loke upādāya kismiṃ loko vihaññati* “regarding  
what and by that is the world afflicted, after having  
grasped at what?” (SN 9.16); *channam eva upādāya*  
*chassu loke vihaññati* “regarding the six and by the six  
the world is afflicted” (SN 9.17); etc.

*paru-varsi uvadae* “from last year onwards” (KI. 272;  
See 85, 139); etc. In the Niya Prakrit the postpositive  
is restricted solely to the temporal adverbs.

*mahābrahmaṇo’ nukampām upādāya* “with pity for  
Mahābrahman” (Lalita-vistara p. 73-74; etc.); *tam eva*  
*divasam upādāya* “from that very day” (Divya. p. 25);  
*yad upādāya rājā vipravāsito tad upādāya devo na varṣati*  
“since when king was banished the god does not rain”  
(Mahā. iii p. 44); etc.

*Uf. tīrād upādāya* “on (or near) the bank (of the river)”  
(Mbh. 3.113.9); *yad vayanā na tadaivaitān dhārtarāṣṭrān*  
*nihanāsihi bhavataḥ śāstram ādāya* “that we did not kill  
then the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra because of your scriptures  
(this misdeed distresses us)” (Mbh. 3.33.10).

54. *niśrāya, niśritya* “resorting to, on account of”  
etc.: *diṭṭhiṃ ca nissāya anupucchamāno*, “asking on  
account of (your philosophical) opinion” (SN 47. 7); *tvaṃ*  
*nissāya...tisso vijjā anupatā* “owing to you the three  
sciences have been learnt” (Therī. 331); *alīnacittaṃ nissāya*  
*pahatṭhā mahatī camū* “the great army was delighted  
regarding Alīnacitta” (Jātaka ii. 2.11.); etc.

*dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati* “(he) remained in  
the right side of the womb” (Divya. p. 98); etc.

55. *pratirajya* “regarding(?)”: *tam paḍucca* “with  
regard to this” (Āyārāṅga-sutta 1.5.3.5).

56. *samādāya* “regarding:” *porāṇe vajji-dhamme*  
*samādāya vattanti* “(they) retained the old customs of the  
Vrijis” (DN ii p. 74); etc. See 43.

57. *saṃdhāya* "regarding": *taṃ...saṃdhāya* "regarding it" (Divya. p. 89); etc.

58. *sthāpayitrā* "excepting, in addition to", etc. *imaṃ yaṭhi-paṭiṭhanam ṭhapaicam* "in addition to this foundation of the staff" (Inscription no. LXXIV, CII i). *ṭhapetvā dve* "excepting two" (SN 33); *nāssa imissa parisāya samasamo atthi vaṇṇena ṭhapetvā samaṇam gāṇam* "in this assembly there is none who equals him in complexion, excepting Gotama the Samaṇa" (DN i. p. 123); etc.

*sthāpayitvā bāhubalam* "bodily strength excepted" (Saddhar. p. 79); *sthāpayitvā tathāgatasya* "excepting the Tathāgata" (Divya. p. 43); etc.

59. The following additional verbal postpositives occur in the Mahābhārata; some of these also have continued up to NIA.

1. *atikramya* "excepting"- *bhīṣmadroṇāv atikramya* "excepting Bhīṣma and Droṇa" (7. 129. 6); etc.

2. *ādiśya* "towards, to, regarding" etc. *cikṣepārjunam ādiśya vāsudevay tomaram* "threw a missile at Vāsudeva for (injuring) Arjuna" (7. 27. 9); etc.

3. *āsthāya* "adopting, by means of, because of, on account of" *ayudhyamānaḥ kām buddhim āsthāyāham vṛtas tvayā* "for what reason have I, not fighting (on your side) been accepted by you?" (5. 7. 34); *kāraṇad-vayam āsthāya yotosyāmi pāṇḍavān-* "I shall not fight the Pāṇḍavas because of two reasons" (6. 119. 32); etc.

4. *gatvā* "going to, from"- *prāpto 'smi gatvā naradeva pāṇḍavān* "O god among men, I am come from (lit. having gone to) the Pāṇḍavas" (5. 32. 7).

5. *dattvā* "having given, by means of." etc. *jihvām dattvā bahūnām hi kṣudrāṇām lubdhacetasām | nikṛtyā labhate rājyam āhāram iva śalyakaḥ ||* "By the defeat of many small-minded and avaricious (persons) (also, by the destruction of many greedy ants) with the tongue one secures a kingdom like a porcupine its fare" (3. 33. 59).

6. *puraskṛtya* "on account of, because of, regarding, by means of," etc. *etat te sarvam-ākhyātem.....śiṣṭācāraguṇam.....puraskṛtya* "all this (is) said to you regarding good behaviour (and proper conduct)" (3. 206. 99); *mitrutām ca puraskṛtya pṛcchāmi tvām aham dviḥ* "O Brahmin, because of (our) friendship I ask you (this)" (3. 259.35); *evam tad abhavad yuddham divasam bharatar-ṣabha | pāṇḍavānām kurūnām ca puraskṛtya ghaṭotkacaḥ ||* "Thus the battle ensued for a (whole) day, scion of the Bharatas, between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus, with Ghaṭotkaca (lit., having placed Ghaṭotkaca at the front)" (6. 64. 80); *yāhi svargam puraskṛtya yaśase vijayāya ca* "go to heaven or to glory and victory (lit., having placed heaven at the front go to glory and victory)" (6. 112. 28); etc.

7. *prāpya* "regarding, from, through, by" *etat vākyam vidura yat te sabhāyām iha proktam pāṇḍavān prāpya mām ca* "O Vidura, this utterance (was) which made to you in the assembly regarding the Pāṇḍavas and also me (lit., having come to the Pāṇḍavas and me etc." (3. 4. 18), *yat etat prāpya mucyeta* "who can escape from (lit., having come to) this" (5. 76. 9); *pratīparakṣitam rājyam tvām prāpya vinaśiṣyati* "the kingdom ruled by Pratīpa shall be lost through you" (5. 147. 31); *kasmād dravata he yodhāḥ phālgvnam prāpya samyuge* "O warriors, why do you fly from Arjuna in the battle?" (6.117.30); *tvām tu cakṣurhaṇam prāpya dagdhāḥ* "though you who kill with the eyes (Bhīṣma) has been killed" (6.120.68) etc.

8. *sametya* "together with" *sarvaiḥ sametya samrabdhō dahyatām vā kaṭṭginā* "by (all of us) together let the offender (Bhīṣma) be lynched" (2. 44. 37).

Sukumar Sen.

## Abbreviations.

BSOS	...	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,</i> London.
CII	...	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
D	...	Dhauī Edict.
D-T	...	Delhi-Topra Edict.
D-M	...	Delhi-Meerut Edict.
DN	...	<i>Dighanikāya.</i>
Divya.	...	<i>Divyāvadāna.</i>
Ep. Ind.	...	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
G	...	Girnar Edict.
J	...	Jaugada Edict.
J Sep.	...	Jaugada Separate Edict.
Jacobi.	...	<i>Māhārāṣṭrī Erzählungen.</i>
K	...	Kalsi Edict.
KI	...	<i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions</i> discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, Boyer, Rapson and Senart.
M	...	Maues Edict.
Mahā.	...	<i>Mahāvastu.</i>
Mbh.	...	<i>Mahābhārata.</i>
MN	...	<i>Majjhimanikāya.</i>
Ma.	...	Mathia Edict.
OSBS	...	<i>Online Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit</i> (Calcutta University Journal of Letters, Vol. XXVII)
Ra.	...	Radhia Edict.
Ram.	...	Rampurwa Edict.
S	...	Shahbazgarhi Edict.
SN	...	<i>Suttanipāta.</i>
Saddhar.	...	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.</i>
Thera.	...	<i>Theragāthā.</i>
Therī.	...	<i>Therīgāthā.</i>
UCVP	...	<i>Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose.</i>
VII	...	<i>Vāsudevaśāṅgī</i>



## INDIAN DIALECTS IN PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

### I. "*Dardo-Pahārī*"

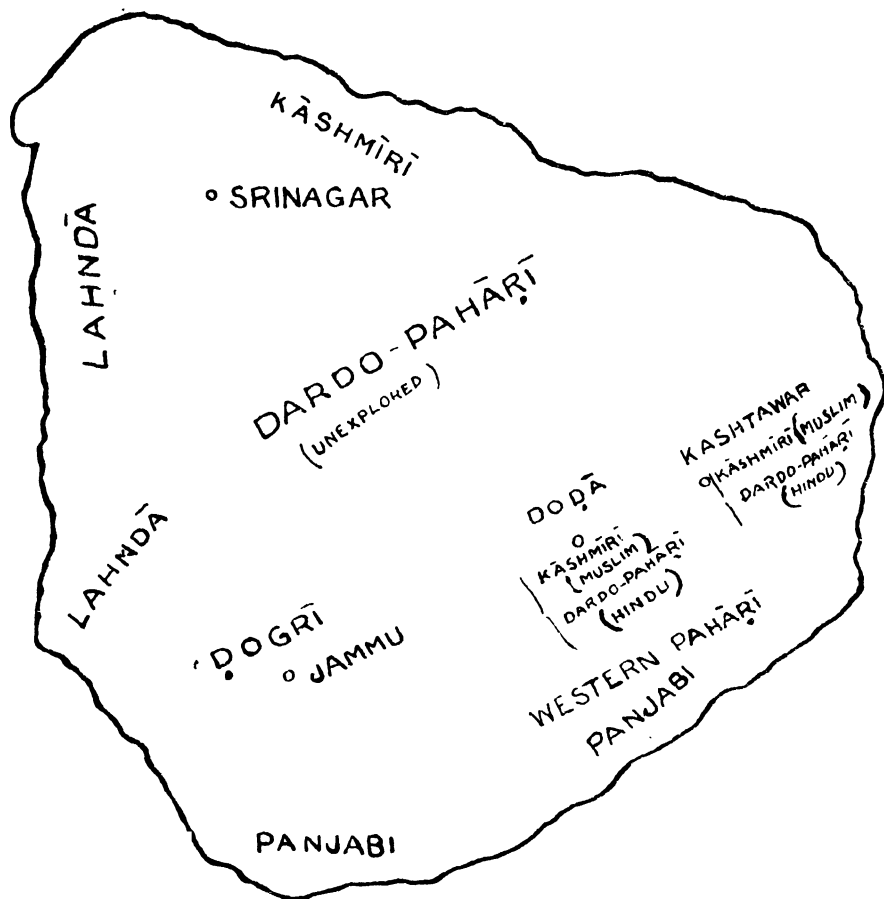
In the vast mountainous regions between the Kashmir valley and the areas in which Pahārī is spoken, we come across a large number of unexplored dialects which I propose to call "*Dardo-Pahārī*," somewhat corresponding to Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavonic languages. The fact of "mixture" of Dardic and Pahārī has been noticed by Grierson. Thus in L. S. I. Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 433 speaking about Sīrājī of Dōḍā, he says, 'As its position indicates, Sīrājī is a mixed language..... It might, with almost equal correctness be classed as a dialect of Kāshmīrī, or a dialect of Western Pahārī, but I have put it in in the former class, because it possesses certain typical Dardic characteristics which do not belong to the latter.' Again, speaking about Kashṭawārī, he says, "The language of Kashṭawār is known as Kashṭawārī..... It is dialect of Kāshmīrī, but is much corrupted by the Pahārī and Lahnda spoken to its south and south-east (I b., p. 342).

Now what are the facts?

My investigations on the spot have led me to conclude that many dialects in these regions spoken by Hindus are "*Dardo-Pahārī*," but those spoken by Muslims are Kāshmīrī. I have noticed this even in small towns in the regions, e.g., in the town of Dōḍā, the dialect of which, as pointed out above has been put in Dardic by Grierson, the Hindus speak *Dardo-Pahārī*, the Muslims, Kāshmīrī, as details given below will amply show. The Hindu dialect Dōḍā should not be called Pahārī "corrupted" with Dardic, or Dardic "corrupted" with Kāshmīrī for the characteristics of both the languages have so deeply penetrated the grammatical structure of the dialect that it must



# The Distribution of Dardo-Pahārī Dialects.



be called as fundamentally Dardo-Pahārī. For instance, to cite an example from Grierson (I b. p. 499), the (Hindu) dialect of Doḍā has [aũ chi] for "I am," but Kāshmīrī has [bõh chus]. Now the [aũ] of Doḍā is Pahārī (cf. Bhadarwāhī, Bhalerī, Khasālī [au], while [chi] "am" has the Kāshmīrī stem [cha-], the neighbouring Pahārī forms being [ɕi] (Bhad.), [ʼāhā] (Bhal.) and [ʼasā] (Khas.). The same is true of the Hindu dialect of Kashṭawār, for while the Muslim speakers there do not possess the sonant aspirates (cf. [ʼgaɽi] "time" for Pahārī [ʼghaɽi] in the specimen given below), the Hindu speakers do. Regarding this phenomenon Grierson says (I b. p. 348) "Dardic languages, as a rule, do not possess the sonant aspirates [gh], [jh], [ḍh] or [bh]. They are, however, common in Kashṭawārī, and are evidently borrowed from Western Pahārī." My investigation has shown that they are a common feature of only *Hindu* Kashṭawārī, and as this Hindu dialect has many fundamental grammatical features (as the specimens given below will show) in common with Pahārī, borrowing is out of the question.

Chronologically, these Dardo-Pahārī dialects seem to preserve much older strata of both the languages, while historically also it is a fact that Muslim Kāshmīrīs in these regions are immigrants from Kashmir. The working out and verification of this suggestion, however, will be a matter of future investigation.

The regions, in which these dialects are spoken, may be indicated by the accompanying rough map.

The following specimens of Dardo-Pahārī Kāshmīrī both spoken in the towns of Kashṭawār and Doḍā, are versions of the "North Wind and the Sun":—

1. Hindu Sirājī of Doḍā (Dardo-Pahārī).

Informant—: Jagat Ram.

ʃu'mali bat te dis

*Northern wind and sun.*

ʃu'mali bat te 'dise mā̃ iā 'kathəta ʒhagro  
*northern wind and sun between this thing on dispute*

'buteṇa ki <sup>ā</sup>ae duiəṇ mā 'kaišo-zəṇo 'zore-valo  
*becoming was that us two out of who powerful*  
 cho. 'etremā garm 'cogo 'laṭta ek mʊ'safir  
*is In the meantime warm cloak wearing a traveller*  
 ao. 'eṇā duiəṇ mā iṅg t̪həro kɪ 'zəṅke  
*came there two between this was settled that whoever*  
 p̪əle mʊ'safre to koṭ v'sali sʊt̪e, teti ʃit  
*first traveller's that coat make throw off his victory*  
 bhoi. 'iput̪h bat 'zore 'sati 'calne 'lagi, par so  
*become this on wind force with to blow began but it*  
 'zəmməri 'zore 'sati 'calne 'lagi, t̪əmməri mʊ'safre  
*as force with to blow began so traveller*  
 'ap̪no koṭ 'khub 'zore 'sati 'ap̪ni 'ʃinde puṭhə lə'peṭt̪əni  
*his coat great force with his body on folded*  
 'pata 'bate 'ap̪ni ko'ʃiʃ traṭ sʊti'aṇi phiri dis 'zore  
*then wind its effort gave up then, sun force*  
 'sat 'nisso, 'phiri 't̪əni mʊ'safre 'luʃa ap̪no koṭ  
*with came then that traveller quickly his coat*  
 v'sali 'sʊt̪əni 'ile pata 'bate mannəni kɪ 't̪əna  
*throw off this on wind admit (had to) that them*  
 duiəṇ māla dis i 'zore -valo cho.  
*two out of sun only power -ful is*

## NOTES

Of the 88 words in this version, only *five* words are Dardic, or bear the stamp of Dardic; the rest are all Pahārī.

- (a) [cho] "is" is evidently Dardic, the corresponding forms in the neighbouring Pahārī dialects being [āe] (Bhadarwāhī) [ʼabe] (Bhalesi) [ʼase] (Khaśālī). This important verb in the dialect cannot be conceived of as being borrowed or due to corruption. Hence Dardic element must be a fundamental essence of the dialect, but considering the fact that the other 83 words in the story are all Pahārī, bearing no trace of Dardic,

it would be appropriate to call the dialect "Dardo-Pahārī." In fact in the Dārdo-Pahārī area there is a large number of unexplored dialects, in which the Dardic or the Pahārī element varies.

- (b) [traɪ-ʈʊʈʌni] "gave up." The verb [traɪ] is Dardic: cf. Srinagar Kāshmīrī [trɜw] "gave up," Muslim Sirājī [trɜwun] "gave up."
- (c) [pata] "then" is Dardic, cf. [patpat] "behind" (Kāshmīrī, Bānihāl), paʔtaulakɐr "at last" Kāshmīrī, Srinagar).
- (d) [kathəʈə] "On (this) thing." As regards the locative ending [tə], it is allied to Dogrī [te] "on," but as regards vocabulary, the word [kath] is Dardic, cf. Muslim Sirājī [ʔkethi] (oblique), Kāshmīrī (Srinagar) [ʔkathi] (oblique) "matter."
- (e) [-puʔh] or [-puʔhə] "on" is Dardic, but with the Pahārī vocalism, for while we have in Srinagar Kāshmīrī, Muslim Kashtawāyī, Muslim Sirājī [pɐʔh], Bānihāl Kāshmīrī [-pɪəʔh], the [ɪ] in Hindu Sirājī [-puʔh] betrays the [ɪ] in [-puʔ] "on" of Bhadarwāhī.

2. Muslim Sirājī of Doḍā. This dialect is called "Khojī" by the inhabitants of Doḍā. All of them realize that this dialect is quite different from the Hindu dialect.

Informant:—Sayyad Shah.

ʃɛ'maluk wao beɪ doʃi

*Northern wind and sun*

wao • beɪ doʃi ʃɛθ 'kethi-pɛθ ɐvɐn ɐs zi 'aɪsi  
*wind and sun this thing on disputing came to that us*  
 'dɔnnmākʊs' 'aɪsi zjadə zɔɔwɔl 'ɛmi 'gɐʔi gɐrm  
*two our of who will be more powerful at this time warm*  
 ɛo'gə 'lɜgɪθ ɐk mu'sɜʔɪr 'ʔɛti ɔ. ɪmən 'dɔnn-  
*cloak having worn a traveller thither came these two*  
 mɔz ʃi ʔɛɜ:ɪo zi 'ʃuskɔsə 'gʊnʔɛi mu'sɜʔɪr-sʊnd  
*between this was fixed that whoever first traveller-of*

co'gə      wal'narwi,      sui'arsi      zjadə      zorəwol  
*cloak      make-take-off      he alone will be more powerful*  
 'jəth-pəth wao      lug      pakən,      ma'gər      jy'thui      jy'thui      su  
*this-on      wind      began to blow      but      as      as      it*  
 zor-sith      lug      pakən      ty'thui      ty'thui      su      mʊ's3ɸir  
*power-with      began to blow      so      so      that traveller*  
 'pannis panə-pəth      co'gəs      lug      zjadə      ciɹə      walən;  
*his      body-on      cloak-to      began more force-with to-fold*  
 pato 'lakən wawən 'panɛi 'koʃiʃ 'tr3wun      ad      dofi      'tezi-  
*At last      wind      its      effort gave-up then sun force-*  
 sith draw,      t3      tɛm      mʊ's3ɸirən      'ʃaldi-sith      'paŋʊn  
*with came-out then that traveller quickness-with his*  
 co'gə 'wolən      'awoxatrə      piau      wawəs      manən      zi  
*cloak folded this account of had to wind for admit that*  
 mən 'dənn-māz cho      do'ʃɛi      zjadə      zorəwol.  
*these two out-of is      sun only more powerful.*

## NOTES

This specimen of Muslim Sirāji indicates that the dialect is perfectly Kāshmīrī, as there does not occur in it even a single grammatical form bearing the stamp of Pahārī. While the Hindu version, as noted above, has 83 Pahārī words out of 88, the corresponding Muslim version has only five Pahārī words out of 96 words. There are five Pahārī words, which may have been borrowed from Pahārī, are detailed as follows:—

- (a) [dof] "sun, Kashṭawārī (Muslim) [dōfi], Kashṭawārī (Hindu) [dō's] Dōḍa Sirāji (Hindu) [dis], have affinity with Western Pahārī, cf. Bhal., Bhad., dī'haṇ, "sun." They are allied to Skr. [divasa-], while [dos] in Kashṭ. also means "day." Cf. Grierson (Ib. p. 350) [thukriḥn dōsan manz] (Kashṭ.) "in a few days." The Kāshmīrī corresponding words are Muslim [aṭtab] or [aṣ'tab], Hindu [s'r'iɹjə]. The Sirāji and Kashṭawārī words are therefore borrowings from Pahārī.

(b) and (c) [ɛmi] "at this" and [ɪmən] "these" (oblique) are not complete Pahārī words; they are rather Dardic, the corresponding Pahārī forms having no [m], cf. Pahārī forms from the Hindu version [ɛtɾəmã] "in the meantime," [ɛnã duɪən mã] "between these two." But the absence of a prothetic [j] in [ɪmən] may be due to the influence of Pahārī.

(d) [teti] "thither," Kāshmīrī (Anant Nāg and Bānī-hal) has [tɪt], cf. Bhad. [tɛɪ] "there," Kasht. (Muslim) [tɛtti], Kasht. (Hindu) [tatte].

(e) [ak] "a" or "one," the common Kāshmīrī form being [akh], [ak] being the normal Pahārī form.

3. Hindu Kashtawārī of the town Kashtawār.  
Informant: Ganesh.

'kafɪr'balɪsɪn                      wao be dɔ's  
*Kashmir-mountain-of wind and sun*  
wawəs    tɔ    dɔ'səs    'jɛθ    'kɛθl'pɛθ    'a'sɪkh    lɔɾat .  
*wind-to and sun-to this thing-on was dispute*  
səmzən    ki    'a'e    'dɔʝo-manz    kɔ'    θu    'bɔɖu  
*becoming that us two out-of who is more*  
zɔɾəwər.                      'ɪtsɪmɪnz    akh    mɔ'saphɪr    u'nul'    'ɔ'gɔ  
*powerful. In the mean time a traveller warm cloak*  
'laɪɾɪ                      'tɛttɛ    wɔɪt.    ɪmən    dɔ'nn-manz    i    kɛθ  
*having wern thither came there two-between this thing*  
'θɛɣ'rei    ki    'jʊkũ    'gɔ'ɖɖa    ɪs    mɔ'saphɪrsɪn  
*was settled that whoever first this traveller-of*  
'ɔ'gɔ    wɔ'lae,                      'sui    'ɪjɛ    'bɔɖu    zɔɾəwər    'zanna.  
*cloak make take off he alone will more powerful be known*  
jɛθl    kɛθl'pɛθ    wao    'lɔgu •    zɔɾə    sɛθlθ'    ,hɛnθɛn  
*this thing-on wind began power with to below*  
pənə    rɛhən    rɛhən    wawən    zɔɾ    'karun    tɪtũi    'lɔgu  
*but as as wind force did sa began*  
su    'panɪs    pənəs    pɛθ    ɔ'gɔs    lɔgu    sɛmɛlən.  
*he his body on cloak-to began to fold*  
a'khɪrəs-pɛθ    wawən    'panɪɾ    'kɔʃɪɪ    trɛɪ    'dɪɪn.  
*final-on wind-by own effort given up*



patə draw dəs 'tezi sɛtʰtɪ, tin məsəphɪrən  
*then came out sun force with by that traveller*  
 ʃɪl-ʃɪl panə cə.ɡə wɛɪl 'sɪnɪn. je'muʃub wawəs  
*quickly his cloak took off this owing to wind to*  
 pro 'manɪn ki 'ʌsɪ donəmənɪz dɛ'sɛ' tʰɪr 'bədʊ  
*had to admit that us two-out of sun alone is more*  
 zərəwər.  
*powerful*

## NOTES

The Kāshmirī element in this specimen is most predominant. Out of the 97 words in the version, 80 words are distinctly Kāshmirī, but 17 words bear a distinct stamp of Pahārī, which cannot be ascribed to "borrowing" or "corruption." The following items, indicating a fundamental Pahārī element in the dialect, may be noted:—

(a) [tʰɪr] "is." Muslims of the same town say [chɪr]

"is." Now [tʰɪr] has a definite affinity to Pahārī, cf. [āthī] "he is (not)" (Grierson, *Ib.*, p. 369). Such an important word, forming a fundamental element in the grammatical structure of the dialect, could not be a loan.

(b) The strikingly Kāshmirī Umlaut of the diphthong [aɪ] does not occur, cf. [trɪr'dɪɪn] "having given up, but [trɪr'tɪ] "having given up" (Muslims of the same town); [ʼaɪsɪkh] "in the past," but Muslims [ɔɔkh], [laɪɪr] "having worn," but Muslims [lɔɪr'tɪ]. This indicates that the dialect preserves an element which we miss in Kāshmirī, and which may be Proto-Pahārī, for which, however, further investigation is required.

(c) Another instance of the absence of Umlaut is [kɪrɪn] "did," Muslim [korɪn]. Says Grierson, (*Ib.* p. 347). "In Kāshmirī when (a) is followed by [u]-mātrā, it becomes [o], as [korɪ] for [karɪ] "he was made." In Kashṭawārī the same

- change occurs, as in [korun]"; now this "sometimes" is rather regularly a Muslim pronunciation: The Hindus of the town would always say [ʔkarun], preserving a non-Dardic element.
- (d) The characteristically Kāshmirī prothesis of an initial [j] before an [i] does not occur in the Hindu pronunciation, thus the version has [ʔitsi] "this" (oblique) but Muslims [ʔjitsi]; [ts] "this" but Muslims [ʔjɪmsɪ].
- (e) The pronoun [ts] "this" (oblique) is a common feature of Western Pahārī, cf. Bhad., Bhal. [ts] "this" (oblique). But Muslims of the same town say [jɪm].
- (f) [kɔː] "who" has a Pahārī element, for its nasality corresponds to the nasal consonant in Bhad. [kɔɪn], Bhal. [ʔkɔɪnɪ], Khaś. [kɔɪ] "who," but Muslims of the town say [kɔː], which is the common Kāshmirī word.
- (g) The pronoun [tɪn] "by him" agent case, is distinctly Pahārī, cf. Bhad., Bhal., Khaś. [ʔtɪnɪ] "by him," but Muslims of the town say [tɪmɪ] "by him," evidently Dardic.
- (h) [ʔmanza] "out of" is Pahārī, cf. Bhal. [ʔuʈʈie-māza] "out of the shoe." Muslims say [māz].
- (i) The adverb [ʔbɔɖu] "more" (but Muslims [bɔɖ]) indicates traces of the Neuter Gender, cf. my article on the "Neuter Gender in Bhādar-wāhī" (Fifth Oriental Conference, p. 27) under "Predicative adjectives."

In vocabulary, the version has two words which are spoken only by the Hindus, and which are distinctly Pahārī:—

- (a) [hɔɪʈhɔɪ] "to blow," but Muslims say [ʔɔɪɪn]. Now [hɔɪʈhɔɪ] occurs in Bhad. in the sense of "to walk."
- (b) [zanna] "will be considered" shows a verb which is common in Pahārī, cf. Bhad., Bhal., [ʔzannu] "to know," but Muslims say [gāʔz-

rāwna], cf. Grierson, *Kāshmīrī Dictionary*, p. 293. [gʌʌʌʌʌ] “to calculate,” having an affinity with the Skt. verb [gaṇ-] “to calculate.”

It has been already noted above that the Pāhārī element in the Dardo-Pāhārī dialects varies, but I hope the above pages have definitely established the fact that the Hindu dialects bear the stamp of a Dardo-Pāhārī language.

#### 4. Muslim Kashṭawārī of the town Kashṭawār.

Informant: Malik Ghulam Rasul.

ʃu'maltʌk                      wa'o   ber   dōfi  
*'northern (only used by the educated) wind and sun*  
 wa'o   tə   dōfi   ɛ's   'panwaɪ   jath   'kəθɪr-pɛθ  
*wind and sun were mutually this thing-on*  
 ɔvən   kr   'ɛst   du'ʌn-māz   kus   ɛhɪ   ʃjadə   zorwər.  
*disputing that us two out-of who is more powerful*  
 'tɪzɪgʌɪ   a'o   'wʊʃʊn   cogə   'nʒɪl   sɪnɪθ   ʌ'kh  
*In the meantime came warm cloak worn having a*  
 mu'sɪɸɪ'ra.   waɪ   kʒr   tɪm   ao   ʃi   kəθ   kr  
*traveller how did them come this thing that*  
 ʃuzʒon   mu'sɪɸɪras   'gʷəɸɪaɪ   cogə   'walnai  
*whoever traveller—to first cloak make take off*  
 'suɪɪ'   ʃjadə   zorwər   gā'zrawna   'ɛmpɪt  
*he alone more powerful considered will be this after*  
 ɸɪjʊr   zorə   wa'o   ʃu'thui   wa'o   log   zorə  
*blew forcibly wind as wind began forcibly*  
 ɸɛrən   tu'thui   log   mu'sɪɸɪr   panən   cogə   'ʃjadai  
*to blow so began traveller his cloak more*  
 walən.   ɛxɛəs   dɪɔ   wawən   'kɔʃɪʃ   'trʒ'ɪθ.  
*to fold finally given by wind effort having abandoned*  
 ʌdə   zot   dōfi   tɛɛɪθ-sʌn,   tɛɪm'   mu'sɪɸɪran  
*them came out sun force-with by that traveller*  
 sʌn   ʃal-ʃal   cog   'pʌntʌn   'kəɪɪθ.   wawəs  
*given-up quickly cloak own having taken off wind-to*  
 pro   ʌdə   'mantʌn   kr   tɪ'mʌn   du'ʌn   māz  
*had to now to admit that them two out of*  
 ɛhɪ   dōfiɪ   ʃjadə   zorwər.  
*is sun more powerful*

### NOTES

The above specimen contains 85 words, of which only one word, viz. viz. [dôfi] "sun" has affinity with the Pahārī words, as noted above, p. 92. On the whole, therefore, this specimen represents perfect Kāshmirī. There is not a single grammatical or phonetic form here bearing the characteristics of Pahārī.

There are, however, two words in the specimen, viz. [ˈgari] "time" and [ˈkariθ] "having taken off," which may be suspected to be due to the influence of Pahārī. Thus Grierson says "Kashāwārī possesses a cerebral [r] which does not exist in Kashmirī. It is probably borrowed from Western Pahārī (Ib., p. 349)." This statement, I am sorry to say, is not correct. The sound [r] does exist in village (eastern) Kāshmirī, and even the inhabitants of Kashmir frequently speak of the [gur] "horse" of Srinagar, but [gʊrʊ] "horse" of Anant Nāg, a town to the east of Srinagar. It is one of the distinctive shibboleths of the valley. In 1929, by the suggestion of Dr. T. G. Bailey, I transcribed the pronunciation of 44 words in Kāshmirī, recording the pronunciation of villagers probably from localities near Anant Nāg. Some of these, containing [r] may be noted here:—

ˈhagʊr "cart", ˈkəˈkʊr "cock", ˈkaːrʊn "to boil", ˈkapʊr "cloth", ˈlɔr "thread", ˈlarʊn "to stain" mo.əʃ "dovecot", ˈbɪgʊrʊn "to be spoilt", broːʃ "cat", ˈcheʃʊn "to irritate", dər "beard", guːr "raw", gər "solid", ˈgagʊrai "thunder."

### CONCLUSION

The above pages, I hope, have shown the occurrence of dialects with distinctive features, which are commonly confused as Kāshmirī. They give us a glimpse of the vast number of hitherto unexplored dialects, some of which bear the stamp of a Dardo-Pahārī, with varying elements of the one or the other, which await detailed analysis.

Siddheshwar Varma

## THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE IN NORTHERN DOGRĪ

A general conspectus of the Dogrī dialect has already been given by Grierson (*Vide Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. IX Part I ; page 607).

### *Standard Dogrī*

But the Dogrī of Jammu has a number of sub-dialects as the rough map will show :—

1. Northern Dogrī.
2. Eastern Dogrī.
3. Standard Dogrī.

Standard Dogrī includes Central and Western Dogrī.

Standard Dogrī is spoken in Jammu proper, Akhnoor, Samba, and Udhampur.

Eastern Dogrī is spoken in and near Tehsil Basoli in the East of Jammu Province.

Northern Dogrī starts from Ambiad. It is a small village six miles to the North of Udhampur, as will be clear from the rough map.

### *The Conjunctive Participle*

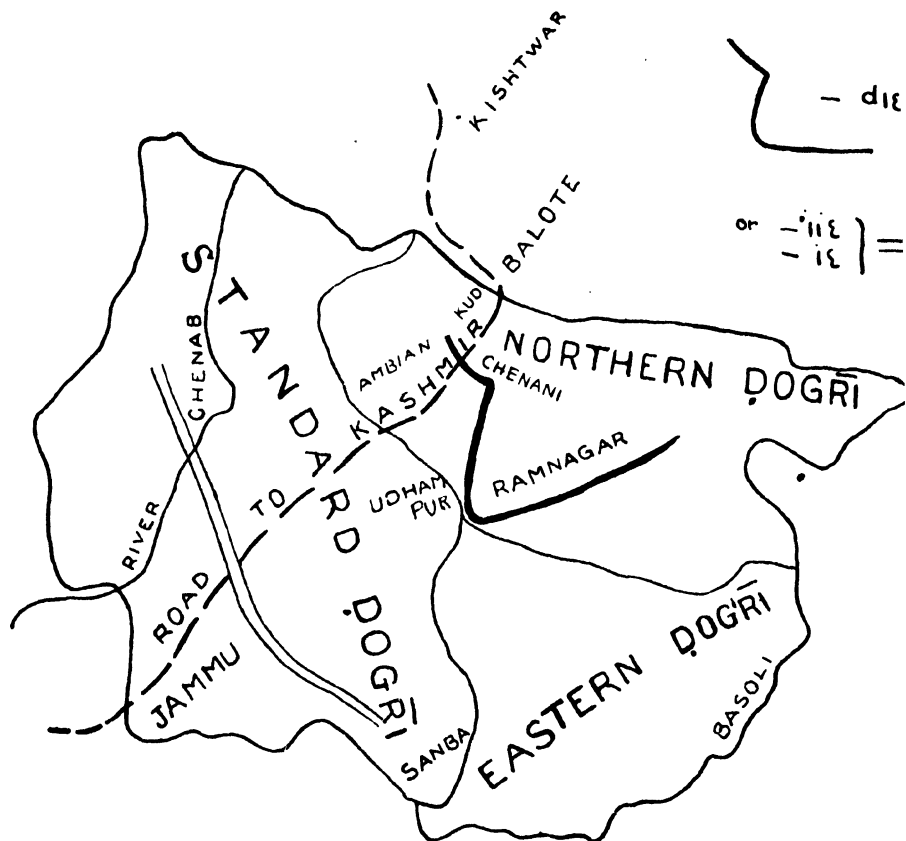
The Conjunctive Participle as current in Standard Dogrī occurs in two forms namely :—

- (1) Ending in [—iɛ]
- (2) Ending in [—iiɛ]

[—iɛ], [—iiɛ] are put at the end of a verb, the former of which is more prevalent, as the following examples will show :—

Verbs.	Meaning	Conjunctive Participles.		Meaning.
		I	II	
[ˈdɛɳa]	“To give”	[ˈdɛiɛ]	[ˈdeiɪɛ]	“Having given”
[ˈʃaɳa]	“To go	[ˈʃaiɛ]	[ˈʃaiɪɛ]	“ „ gone”

Map showing—(i) the distribution of the Dogri dialects,  
(ii) Isoglosses of the occurrence of Con-  
junctive Participle in Northern and  
Standard Dogri.





['khaṇa]	"To eat"	['khaiɛ]	['khaiiɛ]	"Having eaten"
['rona]	"To weep"	['roiɛ]	['roiɪɛ]	" , , wept"
['kheḍna]	"To play"	['kheḍiɛ]	['kheḍiiɛ]	" , , played"
['proṇa]	"To string"	['proiɛ]	['proiiɛ]	" , , strung together"
['piṇa]	"To drink"	['piɛ]	['piiɛ]	" , , drunk"
['haṣṇa]	"To laugh"	['haɣiɛ]	['haɣiiɛ]	" , , laughed"

Of these two forms the second, namely, the one ending

in [-iiɛ] as in ['dɛiiɛ], [jaɪiɛ],  
[khaiiɛ], ['roiɪɛ], ['kheḍiiɛ],  
['proiiɛ], ['piiɛ] and ['haɣiiɛ],

seems to have been older, the first form being syncopation of the second, for syncopation is a very common feature of Dogrī. Cf. Prof. Gauri Shanker "Indian Linguistics" Vol. I; Part III; pp. 17—18 (1931):

[mere-ʃa]	=	[mere-kvʃa]	"by me"
[mere-alla]	=	[mere-balla]	"towards me"
[sirə-vər]	=	[sirə-up:ər]	"on the head"
[ʃardah]	=	[ʃakərdaha]	"I was going"

In this second form, the second [i] is simply a glide and is very little audible in quick speech.

Sir George Grierson mentions three forms of the participle as current in this dialect in the "Linguistic Survey of India" Vol. IX. Part I. Page 645:—

1. māri-ke.	}	"Having struck."
2. mārie.		
3. māri-ai		

Of these three the second and the third are current in the Dogrī dialect of Jammu. Its first form is a borrowing from Punjabi, as Grierson himself admits (Ib. p. 631) that [ke] is a Punjabi suffix, for example:

[ghall-ke] "having sent"



Prof. Gauri Shanker in the 'Indian Linguistics' Vol. I. Part II-IV, page 27 (1931), mentions the form [mari.è] of the conjunctive participle as current in Dogrī, but he does not mention the other, though less prevalent, form [mari:è].

Now what is the origin of the second form of the conjunctive participle, namely, the one ending [-iiɛ], as in ['dɛiiɛ] ?

To answer this question we shall take the corresponding form of the conjunctive participle in the Northern Dogrī which is spoken in the Northern areas of Jammu Province.

In this area, Chenani a small town in the Chenani Estate, Kud a growing hill-station, Karla a small village in the Chenani Estate, Sudhmahan-deo a place of pilgrimage, and Teshil Ramnagar are places of some importance.

The conjunctive participle of the verb ['marɳa] "to beat" is ['maridiɛ], "having beaten" in Northern Dogrī.

Now this is a composite form which seems to be periphrastic.

The first [i] is put at the end of the verb proper and after this occurs [di] which is most probably a relic of another conjunctive participle of the verb ['dɛna] "give", the regular conjunctive participle of this verb being ['dɛi diɛ]. The following examples illustrate the comparative forms of the conjunctive in the two dialects:—

Verbs.	Meaning.	Northern Dogrī.	Standard Dogrī.	
['dɛna.]	"To give"	['dɛidiɛ.]	['dɛiɛ.]	['dɛiiɛ]
['piɳa]	"To drink"	['pidiɛ]	['piɛ]	['piiɛ]
['kheɳna]	"To play"	['kheɳidiɛ]	['kheɳiɛ]	['kheɳiiɛ]
['leɳna]	"To ly"	['leɳidiɛ]	['leɳiɛ]	['leɳiiɛ]
['ɭɳna]	"To get"	['leidiɛ]	['leiɛ]	['leiiɛ]
['khaɳa]	"To eat"	['khaidiɛ]	['khaiɛ]	['khaiiɛ]
['asna]	"To come"	['aidiɛ]	['aiɛ]	['aiiɛ]
['naɳna]	"To bathe"	['naidiɛ]	['naiɛ]	['naiiɛ]
['haɣɳna]	"To go to stool"	['haɣɳidiɛ]	['haɣɳiɛ]	['haɣɳiiɛ]
*['baɳna]	"To sit"	['beidiɛ]	['beiɛ]	['beiiɛ]
['ʃũna]	"To be contaminated"	['ʃũidiɛ]	['ʃũiɛ]	['ʃũiiɛ]

['nacɳa]	"To dance"	['nacciɳiɕ]	['nacciɕ]	['nacciɳiɕ]
['uʈɳa]	"To stand"	['uʈɳidiɕ]	['uʈɳiɕ]	['uʈɳiiɕ]
['sasɳa]	"To sleep"	['seɳidiɕ]	['seɳiɕ]	['seɳiiɕ]
['bɪɳɳa]	"To awake"	['bɪɳɳidiɕ]	['bɪɳɳiɕ]	['bɪɳɳiiɕ]
['kʋalɳa]	"To call"	['kʋalidiɕ]	['kʋaliɕ]	['kʋaliiɕ]
['calɳa]	"To walk"	['calidiɕ]	['caliɕ]	['caliiɕ]
['tarɳā]	"To swim"	['taridiɕ]	['tariɕ]	['tariiɕ]
['banna]	"To bind"	['bannidiɕ]	['banniɕ]	['banniiɕ]
['sʋʈɳa]	"To throw"	['sʋʈɳidiɕ]	['sʋʈɳiɕ]	['sʋʈɳiiɕ]
['mɔɳɳa]	"To beg"	['mɔɳɳidiɕ]	['mɔɳɳiɕ]	['mɔɳɳiiɕ]
['pʌɳɳa]	"To break"	['pʌɳɳidiɕ]	['pʌɳɳiɕ]	['pʌɳɳiiɕ]
['maɳɳa]	"To agree"	['maɳɳidiɕ]	['maɳɳiɕ]	['maɳɳiiɕ]
['məɳɳa]	"To compass"	['məɳɳidiɕ]	['məɳɳiɕ]	['məɳɳiiɕ]
['ʈɛɳna]	"To stay"	['ʈɛɳridiɕ]	['ʈɛɳriɕ]	['ʈɛɳriiɕ]
['kʰɔɳɳa]	"To open"	['kʰɔɳɳidiɕ]	['kʰɔɳɳiɕ]	['kʰɔɳɳiiɕ]
['taɳɳa]	"To weave"	['taɳɳidiɕ]	['taɳɳiɕ]	['taɳɳiiɕ]
	"To work hard"			
['kaɳna]	"To do"	['karidiɕ]	['kɳriɕ]	['kɳriiɕ]
['gəɳɳa]	"To become sad"	['gəɳɳidiɕ]	['gəɳɳiɕ]	['gəɳɳiiɕ]
['rakɳna]	"To keep"	['rakɳidiɕ]	['rakɳiɕ]	['rakɳiiɕ]
['ussɳa]	"To be sorry"	['ussɳidiɕ]	['ussɳiɕ]	['ussɳiiɕ]
['ʌɳɳa]	"To mince"	['ʌɳɳidiɕ]	['ʌɳɳiɕ]	['ʌɳɳiiɕ]
['eɳɳa]	"To carry"	['eɳɳidiɕ]	['eɳɳiɕ]	['eɳɳiiɕ]
['eɳɳa]	"To sham- poo"	['eɳɳidiɕ]	['eɳɳiɕ]	['eɳɳiiɕ]
['tɳaɳna]	"To put off"	['tɳaɳridiɕ]	['tɳaɳriɕ]	['tɳaɳriiɕ]
['nasna]	"To run"	['nasidiɕ]	['nasiɕ]	['nassiiɕ]
['aɳɳa]	"To bring"	['aɳɳidiɕ]	['aɳɳiɕ]	['aɳɳiiɕ]
['piɳɳa]	"To squeeze"	['piɳɳidiɕ]	['piɳɳiɕ]	['piɳɳiiɕ]
['paɳna]	"To fall"	['peɳidiɕ]	['peɳiɕ]	['peɳiiɕ]

From the above list it will appear that the conjunctive participle occurs in a syncopated form in Standard Dogri.

The composite termination [—idiɕ] of the Northern Dogri is added to all the roots of verbs to form the conjunctive.

The composite termination is really a (periphrastic) perfective phrase in which the conjunctive participle of the verb [‘deṇa] “to give” is added to the conjunctive participle of the verb itself—a double conjunctive participle.

The verb [‘deṇa] is commonly used in Dogrī and several other Indo-Aryan dialects to indicate the perfective sense that is to signify a perfect completion of an action.

So in this sense it may be called a double conjunctive participle. This double conjunctive participle though without any form of the verb [‘deṇa] “to give” also occurs in the following dialects:—

At first [i] is added to the root and then [kari] is added to it, and in some [kai] is used. For example:—

Churāhī

[mari-kari]            “Having struck”

Gadī:—

[‘lei-kari]            “Having taken”

” Braj:—

[mari-kari]            “Having struck”

Chameali:—

[mārī-kārī]           “Having struck”

[peī-kari]            “Having fallen”

Now a unique feature of Dogrī with all its sub-dialects is that its perfect participle is formed by the addition of various forms of the verb [deṇa] “to give”.

Example:—

[gāja-da]            =    “gone”

[marīja-da]          =    “beaten”

[khāda-da]          =    “eaten”

[nāṭa-da]            =    “bathed”

[sūtta-da]            =    “slept”

[‘pitta-da]            =    “drunk”

Some other dialects of Hindi and Punjabi have forms in which the forms of the verb [‘deṇa] are used to signify the perfective sense:—

[chor-do]            =    “Give up”

[jāne-do]            =    “Leave it”

['ane-do]	=	"Let it come"
[de-dia]	=	"Was given"
[mar-dia]	=	"Was killed"

The literal meaning of [khai diḡḡia] would thus be "he went after his eating was *quite* complete", as we have a parallel form in Hindi [kha-kar-ke-ga]

This [diḡ] goes back to the Prakrit [—iya] as [kariya] "having done" in which this termination was added to the root of the verb to form the conjunctive participle of the verb.

As regards the first elements namely [i] of the composite termination [-iiḡ], is added to the verb proper and it corresponds to [i] found in conjunctive participle of many other Indo-Aryan dialects, such as the following examples will show. :—

Chameali (Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IX,  
part IV, Page 781)

[māri] = "Having struck"

Pangwali— [Ib. Page 853]

[māri] = "Having struck"

Jausari— [Ib. Page 395]

[māri] = "Having struck"

[kari] = "Having done"

Kamauni— (Ib. Page 156)

[hiṭi] = "Having gone"

Sirmauri— (Ib. Page 465)

[tipi] = "Having struck"

Badhānī [Ib. Page 327]

[hiṭi] = "Having gone"

Nepali— (Ib. Page 36)

[khāi] = "Having eaten"

[dōkhi] = "Having seen"

['baṭuli] = "Having collected"

[basi] = "Having lived"

[gari] = "Having done"

Manḍōali— (Ib. Page 725)

[paü-ke] = "Having fallen"

[hūi-ke]	=	"Having become"
[āi-ke]	=	"Having come"
Kului—	(Ib. Page 677)	
[mari-ke]	=	"Having struck"

But there is also another very common form [māriē] in Kului. It approaches Dogri.

Also :

[kōriē]	=	"Having done"
Garhwali—	(Ib. Page 290)	
[mari-k]	=	"Having beaten"
Rāthi—	(Ib. Page 381)	
[piṭi-ka]	=	"Having walked"
[kai-ka]	=	"Having done"
Tehri—	(Ib. Page 343)	
[mari-ka]	=	"Having beaten"

Even in Hindi this [i] is also found as is clear from the following examples :—

[dehī]	=	"Having given"
[khīci]	=	"Having drawn"

and this [i] is still kept by Dogri.

The d of [diɛ] was lost in Standard Dogri and only [—iɛ] remained, while the Northern Dogri still preserves [—diɛ].

Tej Ram Khajuria

## NOTES ON THE RANGPUR DIALECT

Rangpur in North Bengal is an interesting district providing valuable materials for the study of Bengali philology. It presents some fundamental problems connected with the development of the North Bengali dialects. Here we come across a form of Bengali which constitutes a distinct sub-dialect of the main speech current over the area from the Darjeeling Terai in the North down to the Ganges (at the Hardinge Bridge) in the South, extending upto the district of Pabna on the Brahmaputra in the East, the Western boundary reaching the ancient district of Maldah near the Rajmahal Hills on the Ganges.

Rangpur and its neighbouring areas had some political supremacy under the Koc Kings, and later on, during Hindu and Mohammadan periods, and a literary tradition of some importance grew in this area. We have the 'Māṇik-candra' Saga among the oldest specimens of a literary dialect of this tract. Other specimens of literature composed in the dialect which have been discovered are 'Adbhūtā-cāryyer Rāmāyaṇ,' 'Caṇḍikā-vijay' 'Manasā-maṅgal,' etc., besides a rich folk literature in the form of ballads and other popular songs which are still current in the area, which, properly collected will reveal important linguistic as well as literary and historical curiosities. The language of some of the above works, in spite of interpolations of very recent forms and formations, has preserved very old peculiarities, which, naturally enough, by the process of phonetic transformation, are still found current in the local dialect.

The main speech of modern Rangpur is not confined only to that district. Rangpur was included in Cooch-Bihar, and as such the same dialect is current in the modern state of Cooch-Bihar also, though in a slightly more archaic form. It extends right into the Assam valley in the

district of Goalpara in a slightly different form, having some peculiarities, mainly phonetic, and in a very few cases syntactic, common with the Assamese, which, again, is seen to absorb it thoroughly as we follow the same further towards North upto the slopes of the Himalayas. In its southern extremity it stretches upto the Garo Hills where its course is checked by the Tibeto-Burman dialects of the hill tracts. The Eastern limit being carried upto the Brahmaputra river opposite to the Garo Hills, just touches, in its South-eastern extremity, the East Bengali dialect of Maimansing at the confluence of the Tista and the Brahmaputra. Naturally enough the main type of speech which is current among the people of the Rangpur district has some minor points of dissimilarity with the speech current in Goalpara or in Darjeeling Terai.

Sir George A. Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part I, page 191, has called the dialect of this long area 'Rājabaṅśī.' He got an idea of this nomenclature from the name of one group of the Koc tribes known as 'Rājabaṅśī'. Those Koces who are now Hindus are ordinarily known as 'Rājabaṅśī'. The compiler of the LSI has not taken into consideration any separate dialect of Rangpur as such. He has given 'Rājabaṅśī' a second name, 'Rangpurī'. Strictly speaking, pure 'Rājabaṅśī' is not the only language of these localities. The masses, whether Hindu Rājabaṅśī, Musalman, or Koc, speak for all practical purposes a uniform speech which can be termed 'the Rangpur Dialect,' taking into consideration the locality where this dialect is found in the greatest purity and is current among the largest number of people. This Rangpur Dialect is the language of the people of the locality, irrespective of any caste or sect.

The following points may be taken note of :—

The Sound System of the Rangpur dialect presents some well-marked peculiarities. The frequency of the close front vowel [ i ] is a fact which could be taken note of.

In some cases the same tendency is due to the presence of Epenthesis in the dialect. The half-close back vowel [ o ] has got a special treatment in this dialect in initial positions. The frequency of the front vowel [ è ] is also a point which is peculiar to this part of Bengal. This [ è ] vowel is heard with a more open pronunciation when compared with the same vowel of the Standard Colloquial. [ è ], which is more close has taken the place of West Bengali [ e ] in most cases, and the East Bengali [ ε ] is not heard at all in this dialect, the function is absorbed by the very same [ è ]; and, as such, this is a very prominent vowel sound in the dialect, like the [ i ] already noticed. [ ɔ ] has a greater frequency in this dialect than in West Bengali. Umlaut appears to be absent, as also Vowel Harmony. Nasalisation is widely present throughout this dialect area, though on the banks of the Brahmaputra (where the river meets the Tista, near the railway station Phulchari), mainly due to an East Bengali influence, the same is found to disappear in certain cases. The total absence of the cerebral flapped [ r ] is a well-marked phonetic peculiarity of the dialect; but, curiously enough, its aspirated variety [ rʰ ] is a prominent phoneme in the dialect. The articulation of the ordinary alveolar [ r ] sound is very loose and lax at the initial position, being very often substituted by a vowel [ a, i, u ] as the case may be. The reverse process of the appearance of a [ r ] where it was absent originally is also found. The substitution of [ n ] for [ l ] is also a remarkable phonetic phenomenon of the Rangpur dialect, in a few cases interchange of these two phonemes being permitted. Such interchanges are generally tolerated when they are initial, or form the last syllable, of a word. In some parts of the district the people seem to have lost all capacity of pronouncing a [ l ] unsupported by a subsequent conjunct letter. Diphthongs are numerous in the dialect. As regards the consonants in the Rangpur dialect, there are some peculiarities which distinctly differentiate this North Bengali speech from the Central or West



Bengali. The palatal affricates [c, ch, j, jh.] are all heard as dental affricates [ts, tsh, dz, dzh]. The aspirates are a very strong class of sounds in the Rangpur dialect. They are prominently heard in initial, medial or final positions, and in almost all combinations. De-aspiration is a phenomenon which is very rarely seen operating within very recent times, evidently as a result of the growing influence of the West Bengali speeches. Non-aspirate sounds are frequently heard in aspirated form in some positions.

As regards Morphology there are many tendencies peculiar to the dialect which are absent in the Standard Colloquial.

There is a very strong non-Aryan and a Persian element in the vocabulary of the Rangpur dialect. Grammar and vocabulary have made the Rangpur dialect so different from the West Bengal speech that if a man from West Bengal penetrates into the interior villages of the district, he feels very great difficulties in exchanging ideas with the local people who will appear to him to be speaking a tongue quite different from his.

This sub-dialect of Rangpur as a strong member of the main, North Bengali dialect deserves more than a mere passing notice. In the present 'Notes' however, I shall only try to formulate the bare outlines of this form of speech, an elaborate consideration of the dialects being reserved for a future treatment. Recently I undertook a linguistic tour in the North Bengal villages, and the present 'Notes' is the result of this tour in Rangpur, where I came across some remarkable facts of the speech.

I have not endeavoured to search out origins or history of the forms I have noted below. All that I intend to do in the present article is nothing more than a mere statement of the situation in the dialect of the district. I am sure, I have not been able to collect all the available forms of the different aspect of the dialect under review. No theory has naturally been advanced; no attempt has been made to break new ground.

The following main characteristics of the Rangpur dialect may be noticed. Standard Colloquial, or earlier, forms are given in the second columns.

### Phonetic:

(1). [ e ] is usually changed to [ è ] :

sègulèn	=	ségulān	"all those"
èglèn	=	egulān	"all these"
èḡā	=	eḡā	"this one"
nocè	=	naycā, nalcā	"the tube of the >nolce hubble-bubble"
tèhèi	=	tehāi	"one third"
mèi	=	mei	"gum"
cèo	=	teja	"power"
kèś	=	keś	"hair"
dèbu	=	deyā	"cloud"
èlāy	=	e belāy (?)	"now"
nèlpā			"slippery"
jèiṭhè	=	jeṭā	"which piece"
jèṭhi	=	jeṭhi	"lizard"
jhènā	=	je-nā	"who"

(2). [ ā ] to [ è ] :

èo	=	rāo, rā	"word"
èṛhī	=	rāṛī	"widow" (a con- temptuous term)
sèmī	=	swāmī	"husband"
sèno	=	sneha	"affection"
śér	=	śer	"a weight, seer"
ḡhèkè	=	dhākkā	"a push"
pujè	=	pujā	"worship"
mulè	=	mulā	"radish"
śuyèr	=	śuār	"boar"
śiyèl	=	śiyāl	"jackal"
diyè sèlèi	=	diyāśalāi	"match-box"
kèsta	=	kāyastha	"a caste"
kèlo	=	kālo	"black"
kèro	=	kāro	"of any body"

kəl	=	kāl, kail	"yesterday or tomorrow"
kədā	=	kādā	"mud"
kənā	=	kānā	"blind"
unēi	=	unāi	"hot"
bègnè	=	begānah	"unknown"
khèsā	=	khāsā	"excellent"
jorè	=	jorā	"pair"
ṭèkhā	=	ṭākā	"a rupee"

(3). [o] is a very common phoneme in Rangpur Dialect, being often heard in place of [ɔ], [a], [u], etc.

(i) [o] = [ɔ]

korāi	=	kaṛāi	"a pan"
korā	=	kaṛā	"a knot"
cor	=	caṛ	"a slap"
cokoā	=	caḱā	"a bird"
		< cakravāka	
cōhar	=	cāmar	"a chowrie"
chorkhā	=	caṛkhā	"wheel"
joāb	=	jabāb	"reply"
kothā	=	kathā	"word"
morod	=	mard,	"a man"
		marad	
bōn	=	bōl	"a word"
kōpāl	=	kapāl	"forehead"
koto	=	kata	"how many" etc.

(ii) [o] = [a]

chol	=	chāl	"bark"
gōti	=	jñāti	"relative"
pōjor	=	pājār	"ribs"
chorā	=	chārā	"without"

(iii) [o] = [u]

jōtā	=	jutā	"shoe"
nèmo	=	lebu	"lemon"
opār	=	rupār	"of silver"
kolā	=	kulā	"winnowing fan"

(4). In a large number of cases the normal [o] is substi-

tuted by [ɔ]; while there are not a few cases where a normally expected [a] is found as [ɔ]. In the latter cases the change is almost always an initial one, thus it seems more like absence of the compensatory lengthening of the vowel in NIA as a result of the loss of an MIA consonant in double consonant groups. Thus OIA āmra 'mango' > MIA āmba > NIA ām, āb. This word is invariably found in this dialect as am, pronounced [ɔm]. Similarly, pakhi = [pɔkhi] < OIA. pakṣin (bird), machi = [mɔsi] < makṣikā (a bee), kāthā < kanthā (quilt), āc < arcis (heat of fire), kani = kāni (a piece of torn cloth), kadā < kardama (mud), allā = āllā Perso. < Arabic (God) etc. The influence of Assamese may be postulated in these instances. The following cases are peculiar:

akkel	=	ākkel	"sense"
		< 'aql	
asāmi	=	āsāmi	"debtor"
tājā	=	tājā	"fresh"
bāṭā	=	bōṭā	"stalk"
bhan	=	bōn	"sister"
bhaj	=	bhoj	"feast"
gaṭā	=	goṭā	"this one piece"
ak	=	oke	"him"
gāj	=	gōj	"spike"
ogher	=	oder	"their"
paśak	=	pośāk	"dress"
maṭā	=	moṭā	"fat"
bham	=	bhom-rā	"bee"

(5). Treatment of [r]. As has already been noted that initially this alveolar sound is of extremely lax articulation in the Rangpur dialect, so much so, that it is dropped from pronunciation altogether, leaving in its place only the vowels which followed them. Sometimes as a tendency opposite to this, the sound of [r] appears in positions it did not originally belong to.

(i) Instances of disappearance of [r]

Angpur = Rangpur "the district of Rangpur"

āo	=	rāo	"word"
ājā	=	rājā	"king"
ēṛhi	=	rēṛi	"a widow"
āndhā	=	rāndhā	"cooking"
obibār	=	rabibār	"Sunday"
ūp	=	rūp	"beauty"
a'd	=	roid, roud, sts. < raudra	"sunshine"
āsthā	=	rāstā	"road"
ākhāl	=	rākhāl	"cow-herd"
ājmistri	=	rāj-mistri	"brick-layer"

(ii) Prothesis of r :

rojan	=	ojan	"weight"
rāi	=	āi < āyu	"lifetime"
ruddha	=	urddhva	"upwards"
rupor	=	upar	"upon"
rāsā	=	āsā	"hope"
rākhi, rūkhi	=	ākhi	"eye"
rāodā	=	āodā	"contract"
rasantoṣ	=	asantoṣ	"displeasure"
rattha	=	attha artha,	"money"
rabhāgi	=	ābhāgi	"unfortunate" etc.

(6). Non-contraction is the general rule in the Rangpur Dialect. The following cases are noteworthy :

gāo	=	gā (OIA gātra)	"body"
māo	=	mā (OIA mātā)	"mother"
pāo	=	pā (pāda)	"foot"
rāo	=	rā (rāva)	"word"
ghāo	=	ghā (ghāta)	"sore"
nāo	=	nā (nāva)	"boat"
dāo	=	dā (dātra)	"a cutter"
tāo	=	tā (tāpa)	"heat"
sāo	=	sā < sāha	"a surname"
bāo	=	bā (vāta)	"air"
sāo	=	chā (śāba)	"young ones"
nao	=	rō (loman)	"hair on body"
tāo	=	tā	"sheet (of paper)"
sāo	=	śa (śata)	"hundred"

(7). Some very peculiar instances of contraction are found: viz.

soug	=	sakal	'all'
bhoïn	=	bon<bahin	'sister'
noin	=	nayan	'eye'
barsan	=	barisan	'shower'
baides	=	bides	'foreign land'
addur	=	ata dur	'so long a distance'
moinè	=	maynā	'a bird'
ghāru	=	gāru	'a pitcher'
parhinām	=	parinām	'consequence'
stirhi	=	stri	'wife'
śikhar	=	śikaṛ	'root'
phēkhā	=	pekham	'feathers, plume'
phil	=	pil	'elephant'
bhail	=	MIA bailla	'ox'
jhā	=	jā	'go'
tāthe	=	tate	'in that'
tabhu	=	tabu	'if'
khandha	=	kandha <skaudha	'shoulder'
sēdhur	=	sīdur	'vermillion'
puthol	=	putul	'toy'
pichās	=	picās <piśāc	'ghost'
chunni	=	cunni <corni	'femal thief'
jhe	=	je	'who'
phēt	=	pet	'stomach'
kothā	=	kathā	'word'
kākho	=	kāke	'whom'
śikhan	=	śikal	'chain'
kop̥hi	=	kopi	'a vegetable'
bhiyān	=	biyān, bihān	'morning'
bhādhā	=	bādhā	'obstacle'
gharba	=	garbha	'pregnancy'

(8). *Treatment of Aspirates*:—Aspirates are a very strong class of sound in the Rangpur dialect. In all positions they are heard prominently. Their pronunciation is strong and clear. Non-aspirated sounds are very

often found in their aspirated form, deaspiration being a very rare phenomenon in the dialect. It is somewhat interesting to note the existence of two aspirates in successive syllables. This seems strange in an Indo-Aryan dialect which as a rule does not allow two successive aspirates. In the treatment of the aspirates the Rangpur Dialect shows disagreement with the standard Colloquial. Instances of aspirates are numerous in the former dialect.

Examples.—

jhan = jan 'man'  
 dhāin = dān < dāini < dāhini < dākinī "female ghost".  
 phāṭhā = pāṭhā: "he-goat". This word is frequently heard as 'phāṇṭhā' [fanṭha] towards the extreme north of the Rangpur district where it touches Cooch Bihar. The other variations of the same word are "phāṇṭhi" "phāṇṭhi". etc.

chochā	=	śaṭh	'a cheat'
hāmi	=	āmi	'I'
jhēnokāl	=	jakhan (jena kāl)	'when'
jhān	=	jān	'life'
bhān	=	bāhānna	'52'
nākhān	=	nākān	'like'
phāṛā	=	pāṛā diyā	'trampling'
khātlā	=	kātlā	'a kind of fish'
jēlā	=	jakhan	'when'
karpur	=	karpur	'camphor'
jhelā	=	jelā	'zillah, district'
burhi	=	buṛi	'old women'
āo kārḥā	=	rāokārā	'to speak'
mājḥā	=	mājā	'loin'
sabbhāy	=	sabbāi	'all'

The affix -ker, -ger, -gar, are invariably found as -kher (-khar), -gher, -ghar; and the affix -gulā, -gilā are heard in some localities as -ghul, -ghil. The definitive enclitic -ṭā, unmistakably is heard as -ṭhā. The aspiration in these affixes, as in the above words, taken at random from the mouth of the people of the locality, is very significant.

This state of affairs with respect to this set of sounds in the Rangpur dialect is not of recent origin. The "Gopicanḍrer Gān," a record of the literary dialect of the locality some centuries old reveals the same state of things. The two name Hāṛipā and Kānupa are always recorded as Hāṛiphā and Kānupha. In the "Adbhutācāryer Rāmāyaṇ" which contains a literary form of Rangpur Dialect, about three hundred years old, also can be found evidence of the presence of strong aspiration of un-aspirated sounds, as also of the absence of deaspiration. The name 'Dūṣaṇ one of the principal captains of Rāvaṇa, is always recorded as Dhūṣaṇ.

(9). The sibilant ś (=ś, ṣ, s) is often changed to ch [tsh] ;

chācā	=	sañcay	'laying by'
chinān	=	snān	'bath'
chaci	=	siṣya	'disciple'
chamre	=	sanmukhe	'in presence of'
chiri	=	strī	'wife'
chu't	=	śikhā	
chochā	=	śaṭh	'a scoundrel'

(10). The dental 'd' is very often replaced by the corresponding sound of the alveolar group. This is a prominent phoneme in the dialect cf.,

ḍaṇḍa	=	daṇḍa	'punishment'
ḍambha	=	dambha	'braggadocio'
ḍābā	=	dābā	'pressure'
ḍāṛi	=	dāṛi	'scale' 'full-stop'
ḍārokh	=	dārok	'a log of wood with which the cow is fastened in the pasturage'

ḍighi	=	dighi	'pond'
ḍebu	=	deyā <deva-	'cloud'
ḍāṛāna	=	dāṛāno	'to stand'
ḍer	=	der	'one and a half'

(11). The change of [l] to [n] is a remarkable phenomenon in the Rangpur dialect, Sometimes these two



sounds interchange. In a few cases 'u' by the side 'l' is changed to 'l' by assimilation. A peculiarity ought to be marked in this connection: in the Rangpur Dialect, [n] is a more prominent phoneme than [l]. The people pronounce [n] with more ease.

nanbhan	=	laṇḍa-bhaṇḍa	'disorder'
naṇ	=	lavaṇḡa	'cloves'
nāṇal	=	lāṇḡul	'tail'
narāi	=	laṛāi	'fight'
nabo	=	laiba	'shall take'
nāṭhi	=	lāṭhi	'stick'
nikhi	=	likhi	'I write'
gèn	=	gelo	'went'
ganā	=	galā	'neck'
pa'n for paril	=	paṛila	'for fell'
kanā	=	kalā	'plantain'
ignā	=	egula	'all these'
chāgan	=	chūgal	'goat'
maynā	=	maylā	'dirt'
pānki	=	pālki	'palanquin'
nakhipur	=	lakkhīpur	'Lakshmīpur, place name'

(12). Final and introvocal [p] [b] [m] are often changed to [o].

sāo	=	sāp of the st. coll.	<OIA sarpa 'snake'
cāo	=	cām	<OIA carma 'skin'
caōr	=	cāmar	<OIA cāmara 'chowrie'
bhāo	=	bhāva	<OIA bhāva 'nature, price'
tūot	=	tāvat	<OIA tāvat 'till'
cāor	=	cāpaṛ	<OIA carpaṭa 'slap'
jāor	=	jābar	'chew the cud'
paōn	=	pavan	<OIA pavana 'air'
khèo	=		<OIA kṣepa 'to throw' a throwing
kāoāir	=		<OIA kapāṭa 'door'
dhaol	=	dhabal	<OIA dhavala 'white'
bharaḍ	=	bharam	<OIA bhrama 'mistake'
joyāb	=	jabāb	'reply' Perso-Arabic jawāb 'reply'
āloā	=	cāul	'sun-baked rice'; cf. ātapa-taṇḍula

jāot = <OIA yāvat 'till'

kōar = komar 'loin' <Persian kamar

guññān = pride' cf. <Persian gumān

khaorī = khāprā—<OIA kharpar "begging bowl"

āochā = ābchā 'hazy' 'large document'

kaoj = kabac

nāo = nām 'name' <OIA nāma

biyāo = vivāha 'marriage'

There is a class of words in the Rangpur Dialect which change their meaning according to the presence or absence of nasalization.

kurā = a measurement

kūrā = paddy-dust

gurē = to kick

gūrē = power

hārē = a big pot

hārī = a small pot

jurā = shade

jūrā = bundle of grass

pūrā = barn

purā = a kind of cake

perā = thread

pērā = a country-made box

bharā = fool

bhārā = a kind of snake

gārī = a card

gārī = a small piece of cloth

jārī = cold

jārī = a small forest

korā = a kind of bird

kōrā = brand new

sāo = a snake

sāo = a curse

kuā = a well

kūā = fog

bāo = air

bāo = bow

caor	=	a slab
caōr	=	chowrie
dhūā	=	refrain of song
dhūā	=	smoke
nāo	=	boat
nāo	=	name

### Morphology—

#### *Declension of the Noun*

“Bāp” (masculine)

	Singular	Plural.
Nom.	bāp, bāpe, bāpey	bāp-rā, bap-ar-ghar
Acc.	bāpok, -ak	bāp-ar-gharak
Ins.	bāpak-diyā, -di, bāp-ti-di	bāp-ar-gharak-di, -diyā
Dative.	bāpak	bāp-ar-gharak
Abl.	bāp-hāte, -hātāy, -hāne, -hane, -hānāy, -hāte	bāp-ar-ghar-hāte, etc.
Gen.	bāp-ar, -er	bāp-ar-ghar-ar (-er)
Loc.	bāp-at, bāpar-par	bāp-ar-gharat, -gharar- par (-er-par)
Voc.	bāp-ai	

*Note.* There is practically no difference in declension in different genders. Only with reference to the neuter nouns, slight variations are found. Thus, inanimate objects and insects and other lower animals generally do not take -ghar in the plural formations—more often they take -gulā, -gule, -gulān, -gilā or -glā; human beings also take these inflections, but very rarely and under special circumstances. Inanimate objects and lower beings like insects or quadrupeds almost always take an invariable affixation of -tā, voiced into -dā, -dē, in all the singular forms. This intrusive particle is more sparingly used in order to place emphasis. The ablative inflexions -hānāy, -hāne, and -hane are also not generally used; -tāhē, -tāhē, -than are frequently heard in place of the more common

ablative inflexions. The composite or double from -*thè*, -hate or -*thè-hane* are also not uncommon. A rare inflection -*ti* is often found to appear in locative cases more in the case of inanimate objects and lower animals: *gāṅ-ti*="in the river," *deś-ti*="in the country," *marā-ghāṭ-ti*="in the burning-ghat," *bichān-ti*="in the bed", "*khīcar-ti* in the mud"; *bācrā-ti nāṇol dibār lāghō* (*nāghō*) "I have begun ploughing in the uncultivated land". Another locative affix in -*i* is also found in rare instances like—*pègām-dā gharāghari ā'kho* "please keep this news within a few houses (among your near ones)". In the above sentence the word '*gharā-ghar-i*' may be said to contain the relic of the -*i* of the seventh case. So, *cəgāri chatār-pakhi bāsā bānche*"—"the chatar bird has made its nest in the fence."

The particle *e* is the sign of emphasis in the declension: cf. *Rāmak-i*="to Rām" but *Rāmak-e*="to Rām alone."

With reference to the Vocative Case, notice may be taken of two special forms; *bāpai* and *māiṅ*: These are two forms of affectional address which are used in connection with young couples. The vocative of *bāp* and *māo* (=father and mother) always signify "lover and his lass." This semantic change is noteworthy. In the sense of "father and mother", these two words take vocatives like any other noun in the nom. sing.

"*bāpai ro, mok kākai kinè de—*"

"*nautan bāhārer cul mōr bātāse hāle:*"

"*sundarik māiṅ tui, jēmoutār dīhaper māiyā*"

*tor soāmī mile nāi.*

*ghāṭer pathe māiṅ tor nāgāl pāo,*

*ore pākā kalār moto giliyā khāo*

"*tok pāile māiy chāro bāpo māo.*"

"Oh my dear (lover), buy me a comb, my newly fashioned hair is dishevelled by the wind".

"You are the daughter of a beautiful woman, like a *nautch* girl; you have not got any husband. If, oh my

darling, I could get hold of you in the way leading to the *ghaut* how I would swallow you up as a plantain. My dear, if I possess you, I can easily forsake my father and mother."

The following peculiar feminine forms may be, taken notice of: *nāuānī* (*nāpitānī* = "wife of a barber"), *cunni* "female thief". *becī* "female seller" *majji* "female fish" known by the presence of roe), *bālaru* (*bālikā*) < *bālarūpā*.

### *Pronouns*

As regards the Pronouns in the Rangpur Dialect a bewildering variety of forms is found, which shows dialectal mixture. There are certain peculiarities as well, to be noticed in this connection.

#### *Pronouns for the First Person.*

	Sing.	Plu.
Nom.	<i>āmī</i> , <i>āi</i> , <i>hāmi</i> , <i>mui</i> , <i>muiñ</i> , <i>mai</i> , <i>mo</i> , <i>mo</i> .	<i>āmṛā</i> , <i>āorā</i> , <i>āmār-ghar</i> , <i>hāmṛā</i> , <i>hāmār-ghār</i> , <i>morā</i> , <i>āmar-ghar</i> .

The declension of the first personal pronoun in all other cases and numbers follows the path of the noun, taking almost the same affixes, excepting one or two forms which may be noticed in this connection. The ablative of the first personal pronoun is *mo-ke*. This must not be confused with the accusative form which is *mok*. The absence of *e* in the affix for accusative-dative of nouns and pronouns, as also of a large number of genitive and locative forms (*ghara-i*, *ghara-ti*, instead of *ghare*, *ghara-te* etc.), is remarkable. It is interesting to note that the whole of the declensional system which has thus an apathy for *e*, allows it to appear in the ablative of the pronoun for the first person. Thus the ablative singular has two forms beside the normal ones, (1) *mo-ke*, as has already been noticed, and (2) *more-hāte* (= from me). The double ablative singular forms *moke-hāte*, etc. are only too common.

The genitive singular has peculiar form *āor* (<*āmār*).

The locative has *mu-ti* in the singular. The other forms do not show any special peculiarity.

*Pronouns for the Second Person* have no remarkable variations from the Standard Colloquial. The different forms in the nominative case are *tumi*, *tui*, *tai*, *to*, *tō*, *tui* in the singular. The only forms worth having any notice are the nominative plural *tuig*, and the genitive singular case *toār*, *toār*. However, one fact is remarkable about the personal pronouns of the Rangpur dialect. The ordinary nominative plural *tomā* is used to signify the singular number in the honorific forms throughout.

The plural forms are, nom. sing. *tomrā-ghar*, accusative-dative sing. *tomrāk*. The honorific pronoun *āpni* of the Standard Colloquial is entirely absent in the dialect; *tui* is the ordinary form of affectionate and non-honorific pronoun; *tu* is generally used in addressing strangers of less familiarity, *tui* being reserved for friends and relations. As has already been noticed in connection with nominal declension, an 'e' is affixed with these nouns when meant to bear emphasis or order. *Tumi* is the standard form of address, like English "you"; the distinction of honorific and non-honorific pronouns is absent in the Rangpur Dialect, at least in the pronoun of address or the Second Personal Pronoun. *Āpni* in this sense has no existence. *Tumi* and *tui* also represent a difference,—in the latter more of affection and familiarity is meant than any want of respect as such. The loose application of honorific verbal forms in the dialect also is significant, as pointing to some recent inter-dialectal influence with respect to the incorporation of honorific forms in this North Bengali Speech.

*Hāmi* is seldom found to signify plural number in the extreme north-western part of Rangpur district. Throughout the Second Personal Pronoun the bases *tum* and *tom* interchange.

*Pronouns of the Third Person*

Nom. Sing.	tāy, tañ, tã, tãya	tāmra, tārā, tãyrā, tãya-
	tãi, tã, hã, o,	ghar, tãy-ghar, ò-ghar,
	õ, ãy.	tãiy etc.

The remaining forms are as in the other personal pronouns except that the genitive singular, which is found as tãor, tãar, tãyar, over and above the usual ones. The nominative tãyti is remarkable; otherwise the loc. base is supplied by the base of the Far Demonstrative pronoun 'um>umāt. See below under Far Demonstrative.

The pl. affix -der is entirely absent in the declension of the Rangpur pronouns, as much as in the nominal declension.

*The Far Demonstrative Pronoun (Masculine).*

Sing.	Plural.
Nom. umrā, ũārā, ũrā	umrā, umār-ghar, umār-ghulā

One of the forms of the locative plural is noteworthy, namely, 'umār-ghar-at'; the genitive singular is ũār. Throughout the declension, u is heard changing with o.

When a sense of disrespect or disregard is signified, the ordinary Far Demonstrative takes the nom. sing. 'õāy, ãy, õy, ãi, õi; acc. sg. ũyāk, ũyāk, uk, etc.; the rest is declined as usual, upon the basis of these forms.

The Far Demonstrative has an affixation of -tã>-dã>-dè with -knā, -khuā, -khān, -khun, with the bare base o, õ: ai ãi, oi, õi; very rarely ãy, u, ã, ãu, õu. Thus the nom. sing. of the neuter Far Demonstrative in the Rangpur Dialect is found as:—

otā>odā>odè; òtā>òdā>òdè utā>udā>odè; ùtā>ùdā>ùdè oitā>oidā>oidè, oidè; etc. aitā>aidā>aidè, òidè; etc.	} -tā>dā>dè group		
oiknā, aiknè; āiknā>āiknè aikhān, oikhun; òkhān, òkhun; etc. aydè, aykhēn, āykhun, ayknā; etc. udè, ukhēn, ukhun, ukhā; etc. òuknā, òkhān, etc.		} -khan-group	

The plural forms are made with gila>glā, -gulā, -ghulè> -ghlè; and rarely with ghar etc.

*The Near Demonstrative (Masculine)*

Nom.	Sing.	Plural
	ēyāy, ēy;	imrā, emrā;
	ēi, ēinā, hōinā,	the rest as in the case
	ēy etc.	of the other pronouns

The neuter forms of the Near or proximate Demonstrative Pronoun are created in the same manner by the affixation of -ṭā, -ḍā>ḍè, -khān, -khun, -knā, -khnā, etc. with the base e, ē, ēy, ey, i, i.

Sometimes, -khān or khūn is found as khāne or -khane e.g. ēkhène, ikhane="this".

The plural has no special peculiarity.

*The Relative Pronoun*

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	jāy, jāi, jā, jhāy, jhāy, jhāy, jhāi, jhā	jāmṛā, jamṛā-ghar, jhāmar, jhāmārghar etc.

The rest as usual with this exception that the plural baso "jām" appears in an extended form 'jāmā' in the genitive and locative singular and takes the usual inflections; genitive sg. has also a form jōor. The nom. plural "jāiṅ" is a special emphatic formation. The neuter 'jāi-ti' is noteworthy.

*The Interrogative Pronoun*

	Sing.	Plural
Nom.	kā, kāy, kāi, kāni	kāiy, kāyghar etc.

The genitive kāyar and loc. kāyti are noticeable.

*The Pronominal Adverbs*

*of time*:—èṭa (now) èkhan, bèkhan, ebēlā (now)

sēla, sèkhon, obēlā (then)

jēlā, jēlāy, jhēlā, jhēlāy (when)

konsom, konbēlā (when)

*of place*:—itti, etti, eṭhe, iṭhe, eiṭhe, eiṭhè (here)

hitti, heṭṭi, heiṭhe, heiṭh, hinṭhā, hēnṭha,

bhēnṭhā (hither).





There is some peculiarity in the formation of causatives in the Rangpur dialect. There are a variety of ways, the more important being noted below.

āmāk ghōrāti *careyā* dēo—‘make me ride the horse.’

“āmār bandhu sadāgar,  
nā khoālo dhudhar śar  
nā khoālo śonāmukhot pān”

“My friend, the merchant, has not fed me with the cream of milk, neither has he made my charming mouth chew the betel.”

rāmak paṭheyā dēo ‘send Ram’

pakhikonāk kho’yā dēo ‘Feed the bird’.

,, khiloyā dēo ,, ,,

chāoṭāk nin patāo ‘make the baby sleep’.

The infinitive -ite of the Standard Colloquial is almost absent in the dialect; in its place a compound form ibār lāge (nāge) or ibār jānye etc. is employed.

The conjunctive -iyā is almost always contracted to -i: e.g. bhāt khāiyā = bhāt khāi; kāpaṛ pariā = kāpaṛ pari; gān gāhiyā = gān gāi, etc.

The formation of the conditional or habitual is formed in the following manner; the personal affixes are as follows:— -ilhay (3rd person); -ilen hay (2nd honorific); -ilu hay (2nd non-honorific); -inu hay (1st person sing.); -ilāo hay (1st person plural). E.g. jadi ām gēlen hay, tebe tāy paisā pāilen hay “If he goes there, then he gets money”.

The use of the following Compound Verbs may be taken notice of in view of the fact that their significance is peculiar to the Rangpur dialect. Such use of this set of Compound Verbs is unknown to the Standard Colloquial.

khāoā lāge or khāite lāge ‘should eat’.

khāibār hay ‘fit to eat’.

-parā lāge ‘should eat’.

The √ lāg has very wide application with nominals as well as well as verbals for the formation of Compound Verbs. There is another √ dhar which has also got a wide

function in this connection, The root '√ lāg is substituted by √khāy without any alteration of the sense: e.g. bārī jāoū khāy "it behoves (one) to go home. etc".

The use of the negative particle in the Rangpur dialect is peculiar. It is generally put before the verb instead of coming after, it as is the rule in the Standard Dialect. Rangpur dialect, in this respect, resembles Assamese; e.g.

nā jǎo mǔiñ "I do not go".

nā khǎo mǔiñ; nā śutō mǔi, "I don't eat, I don't sleep" etc.

#### *Formative Affixes.*

- (i) -nāndurè:—pèt-nāndurè "one who delights in eating".  
In the same sense, bhuṣā is used: e.g. khāi-bhūṣā,
- (ii) -āo:—this affix is used to form adjectives. It denotes 'born of' 'pertaining to' 'coming from'  
pubāo "coming from the east"; paicāo "from the west" gharāo "belonging to the house (family)"; bāsāo "made of bamboo, living upon bamboo etc."; jārāo "born in unlawful wedlock".
- (iii) -āni: it denotes agency:  
'uṭhēni "that by which to rise".  
nāmāni "that by which to descend".  
dholāni "that by which to shake or undulate".  
dhorāni "that by which to hold".  
nāgāni "that by which to stick or employ".  
kāni "that by which to have".  
bānāni "that by which to make".
- (iv) -y; to put emphasis, etc.  
āmṛāy "surely we".  
ēklāy "only alone".

The following idioms of the Rangur dialect may be taken note of:

- (i) In order to attract the attention of somebody when addressing him, people in the locality take recourse to various special words, mostly indeclinables, like hur, hir, hēr, yēo; etc.

## Examples :

hur (hir or hère), kathā suni jāo "Look here, you are to take note of this."

yèo bāhe, kathā sunennā kene. "Don't you hear, brother, why do you not take any interest in this talk."

iyē—kathā sunbu" "will you please give me a hearing?"

(ii) In the Standard Colloquial where jeno is used in interrogative sentences, the Rangpur dialect employs either jhon or nā-hay; both the idioms signify the same thing.

mūñi jhon (nā-hay) māchok genu, bārītēlā kǎy base.—

"Allright I am ready to go afishing, but who will remain in the house?"

When comparison is intended, only jhon is used. e.g. naram jhon tulē "soft as cotton" etc.

(iii) Sometimes nāg or nā is used with the genitive to give a special force to the meaning.

beṭinā kǎy "Whose daughter really is she?"

mor nāg beṭi hay "Why? She is my daughter."

This particle nā often is conjugated like verbs in the form of nō or noyāō in the 1st person, noān and nois in the 2nd person, and nay and noyāy in the third person, generally with a future significance: e.g.,

tāy jābār nay "It seems, he will not go".

mūi khābār nō "I shall not eat".

tūi dibār nais "You will not give, I know".

(iv) use of hāne:—tāy hāne geil, mui thāknu "He has really gone away, but I am left here"

(v) bail or bole:—tāyar beil kairbère noyāy, mui katho jed kannu, tabe bèn kairlo. "He was bent upon refusing to do it, it is after great persuasion from me that he at last did it."

Sambhu Chandra Chaudhuri

## “ANKURA-IKARI”

Prof. Sylvain Lévi in an article in *Mélanges Kano Naoko* (since reprinted in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*) tried to connect *ikari*, the Japanese word for “anchor” with the words for “anchor” current in the West. Although it is found in Japanese as early as the 9th cent. A. D. it has no relation with words for ‘anchor’ current in the East. The Chinese, Korean, Polynesian and Malay words for it are of quite different origin.

The word is found for the first time in Greek as *ankura* from which it was evidently borrowed in other European languages: Latin, *ancora*, whence French *ancre*, German *anker* etc. The word is also found in Old Arabic as *langer* in which the Semitic particle *al* has evidently influenced the initial.

In Indian languages too the word seems to have been borrowed from the West, at an early date. The word occurs in Pali either as *lakāra* or *laṅkāra* which has been explained quite wrongly as ‘sail’ and connected with Sanskrit *alaṅkāra* by Stede and Rhys Davids in their Pali Dictionary. Prof. Lévi has quoted a Jātaka passage (Jātaka n. 130, *Sīlānisaṁsaḥ*) in order to bring out the correct meaning of the word. The text says: “he made a big vessel of which a sea goddess became the pilot. Then the mast became of sapphire, the *lakara* of gold, the oars of gold.” The word *lakāra* evidently can not mean ‘sail’; it ought to be connected with the word for ‘anchor’. As it was a borrowed word and only known to the maritime people of the coastal districts the compiler of the Divyāvadāna probably tried to Sanskritise it in : *guṇagaṇādhigatā*, *ahaṁ laṅghanakopamaḥ samvṛttaḥ*. (Divy. p. 340,22). One of the mss. give *laṅkhataka* for *laṅghanaka* (the original being probably *laṅghara*). Although the editors explain the word “as means

of crossing (?)”, the context shows that it ought to mean ‘anchor’: “Possessed of the merits, I have become like an anchor i.e. as unassailable as an anchor.” The word also occurs in a correct form in the Mahāvastu (I,430 n.) as *naṅgara* which has passed into the modern languages almost under the same form.

P. C. Bagchi

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# INDIAN LINGUISTICS

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## **SANSKRIT IN PERSO-ARABIC SCRIPT: A Side-Light on the Medieval Pronunciation of Sanskrit in Kashmir and Northern India**

§1. Whatever may be the origin of the ancient national Indian system writing, the Brāhmī (and a native, pre-Aryan origin in the script of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa seems to be the most likely affiliation of the Brāhmī), it is quite certain that it was first applied to some vernacular before the literature in Vedic and Sanskrit was written in it. We have no specimens of Indo-Aryan in contemporary documents before the 3rd or 4th century B. C., and the spelling of words in the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects as in the Asoka and other inscriptions shows that a proper system of orthography, historical as well as phonetic, had not as yet evolved in the Brāhmī script. As is usual in the early stages of the application of writing to an unwritten language, the orthography of Old Indo-Aryan texts, if these were at all reduced to writing (and it seems they *must* have been reduced to writing at the beginning of the 1st millennium B. C. to enable the Veda compilations to be made), was far from being in the perfect form in which we find it—say from the Junagadh Rudradāma inscription (2nd century A. C.) onward. The perfect orthography of Sanskrit was the creation of grammarians and philologists, at a time when the pronunciation was far in advance of the standard sought to be established by the spelling. But be it as it may, the etymological aspect of this orthography being on the whole sound,

it is possible to take Sanskrit as written down in the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ as representing, with as complete fidelity as imaginable, the main phonetic character of Old Indo-Aryan as in Vedic.

§2. The national Indian alphabet thus became wedded to Sanskrit, and despite the various provincial modifications of the former from century to century, Sanskrit and this alphabet have come down to our day in a line of uninterrupted tradition. There have been at times attempts to introduce a new alphabet and a new tradition in the writing of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and Sanskrit. In pre-Christian times the Kharoṣṭhī script, of unquestionable Semitic origin, was applied to the North-Western dialects of Indo-Aryan, which, even as late as the 3rd century B. C., were still truer to the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan than the dialects of interior India. The deficiency of the Kharoṣṭhī (in not having long vowels) made it a very imperfect instrument for writing an Indo-Aryan dialect in which vowel quantity had a phonemic importance; but nevertheless it served its purpose well-enough for at least ten centuries. The use of the Greek script for Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian as well) is known, but such use was extremely limited, the extant remnants being restricted to coin-legends and to the writing of Indian words and sentences in a Greek literary work. There was no other occasion to use a non-Indian alphabet for Indian languages including Sanskrit before the conquest of Northern India by the Turks in the 10th-13th centuries—excepting the transcription of Indian and Sanskrit words and names and grammatical paradigms for scientific purposes in Chinese.

§3. The establishment of the Turks and other foreign Mohammadans as the ruling power in Northern India in the 13th century brought in a new foreign script, the Arabic, or Perso-Arabic, which in the course of centuries was adopted for some Indian speeches and which consequently became a serious rival of the national Indian script, even practically ousting it from certain language-

areas like Kashmir and Sindh. For a long time, the Perso-Arabic script was not used in writing Indo-Aryan, and its first serious application to an Indian language appears to have taken place in the 16th century when North Indian (Hindustani) dialects came to be written in this alphabet in the courts of the Mohammadan princes of North Indian origin in the Deccan. We need not take into serious note previous sporadic attempts to write Indo-Aryan words and sentences in the Persian script in Persian works; and we do not know how far a scholar like Amir Khusrau who was proud of his 'Hindwī' speech attempted to write that speech in the Perso-Arabic alphabet of his religion and his culture.

§4. But from the 11th century, Hindus who came in touch with their Turki masters who used the Persian script became adepts in the new official language of the land, viz. Persian. But up to the end of the 16th century, Persian was confined to the *élite*—the noblemen of foreign origin and their learned men, and a few Indian Mohammadans as well Hindus who associated with them. During the fourth quarter of the 16th century, Todar Mall, the Hindu finance minister of Akbar, replaced Hindi by Persian in the state offices, and this measure immediately strengthened the cause of Persian in India. A good number of Hindus in North India who entered the service of the Moslem state had perforce to become Persian scholars. With many of these, the language of office became their only language of culture, and the script of this language the only script they knew. They were not cut off from their national religion and culture, as their women-folk did not cultivate the Persian language, and their priestly class never forsook Sanskrit and the national Indian script which had taken the form of Śāradā in Kashmir, and Deva-nāgarī and Maithil-Bengali in Northern India. But the Persian language and script had the first place in their life. This state of things was continued in Northern India down to the end of the 19th century, and a large

number of Kāyasthas and other Hindus had become the inheritors of the Persian culture of India, side by side with the Mohammadan upper classes. A revival of Hindu nationalism among the Hindus of Northern India who had lost a living touch with the main-spring of Hindu culture, viz. the Sanskrit language, was attempted through the Hindi or Sanskritised form of Hindustani, and the influential society, which was founded at Benares to revive the study and spread of Sanskritised Hindustani (Hindi) and of the earlier literature in the North Indian dialects unaffected or but little affected by Persian, was named the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā*—‘the Society for the spread of the Nāgarī script’ among North Indian people, particularly Hindus. The Ārya Samāj became an enthusiastic supporter of the Sabhā in this matter in the Panjab and the United Provinces, and the way in which the Ārya Samāj had to carry on its religious propaganda showed that there was a great need for the Sabhā. It was found that many Hindus in Sindh, Kashmir, the Panjab and Western United Provinces had lost touch with the Indian national scripts, the Deva-nāgarī or Gurmukhī—and the only script they knew was the Perso-Arabic as used for Persian and Urdu. To approach them, and to bring the Vedas near to them, it was necessary to use that script in quoting Vedic passages in the original Sanskrit; and in this way a scheme for writing Sanskrit in the Perso-Arabic script, based on the use of the same script for Hindustani, came gradually to be adopted in Ārya Samāj books and tracts written in Urdu.

§5. This was nothing but a revival of what was practised to some extent in the days of Persian in its greatest glory in India—in the 16th-18th and early 19th centuries; although it was a revival of a thing only with a view to destroy it. Before a Hindu who knew nothing but the Persian script could be made to feel the depth of the ideas in an Upanishadic passage and to appreciate something

of the beauty of Sanskrit as a language, so that he might be induced to commence the study of Sanskrit in its own script, he had to be allowed to read these passages in Persian transcription, with all explanatory assistance through Urdu. We have thus from the close of the 19th century a good number of Urdu tracts published by the Ārya Samāj and other bodies with good bits of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit in the Persian script. But before the birth of a reformation movement like the Ārya Samāj in the 19th century, pious Hindus who perhaps regretted their inability to read the national script and were yet anxious to perform their religious duties by intoning the Sanskrit verses and hymns which a good Hindu should know by heart, had begun in their own way to write down Sanskrit texts in the only alphabet they were familiar with—the Perso-Arabic and in this work of transcription, which was laboriously carried out, often without a knowledge of the Sanskrit language itself (as it was believed that the mere recitation of the Sanskrit words would obtain religious merit), no regular system of transliteration was followed: only a rough transcription of the passages as pronounced was all that was attempted. These were kept as religious hand-books to help the readers while they were reading or chanting the texts; and it appears that an original transcription was at times copied from, without a knowledge of Sanskrit in the second copying also;—which led to curious mistakes from a mis-reading of the first transcription. This naturally gave rise to strange mutilations of the original text, which it would have been impossible to correct had the original Sanskrit not been available.

§6. From the nature of these old transcriptions, they are of considerable value in enabling us to form some idea of the traditional pronunciation of Sanskrit in Northern India in the 16th-18th centuries; and they are thus of a unique interest for both New Indo-Aryan and Middle and Old Indo-Aryan phonetics.

§7. Such Sanskrit texts in the Persian character appear, however, to be exceedingly rare. In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a unique MS. in its Persian and Arabic MSS. Department (No. 156, Second Collection, Curzon, with the title—sry bh'gwt gyt') which gives a number of Sanskrit hymns and texts in the Persian character. The present paper discusses the subject on the basis of the system of transcription in this MS. Enquiries at the well-known collections of Arabic and Persian MSS. in India, e.g. at the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patna, at the Rampur State Library, and at Hyderabad-Deccan, have failed to bring to light any similar Perso-Sanskrit work: so that for the present the RASB. MS. remains unique of its kind.

The MS. is rather late—evidently it was copied in the Sambat year 1914=1857 A. C. It is in the form of a Persian book, consisting of some 50 leaves, size  $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4''$ , with wide margins enclosing the text in lined compartments, and is bound in pink Benares brocade with gold flowers—the use of leather would have made it unclean for Hindu ritualistic worship and prayer. Similar Sanskrit texts from Kashmir in the Deva-nāgarī character used to be bound in Benares brocade. The writing is in a bold and beautiful Kashmir hand. Each separate text (there are some 10 separate texts one after another) begins with an illuminated page in gold, scarlet, purplish red and blue, with lotus buds preponderating in the geometrical decoration, and the colophons, also in Sanskrit in Persian characters, generally are in red ink.

The contents are as follows:

- (1) Gaṇeśa-stōtra.
- (2) Viṣṇu-stotra.
- (3) Sapta-ślōkī Gītā.
- (4) Śanāiscara-stōtra.
- (5) Śiva-ārati (=ārātrika) (in Hindi).
- (6) Various short texts.
- (7) Mahimna- (or Śiva-mahimna-) stōtra.

(8) Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma.

(9) Several other small texts, last four pages being in a different hand from the preceding.

The date *Sambat* 1914 is given at the end.

§8. The MS. is no doubt late; but its interest lies in its being a copy from an earlier MS., as a good number of its mistakes are due to a faulty reading of an original also in the Perso-Arabic character. This lost original, judging from the nature of some of its transcriptions and from the special use of some letters, would appear to go back to 16th-17th century, or could be itself an old (18th century?) copy of an earlier MS. In any case, the transcription of the MS. harks back to the 16th-17th-18th centuries, and it is full of interest in studying Sanskrit phonetics in medieval Northern India.

§9. I have selected the transcription of one text only that of the *Śiva-mahimna-stōtra*, a most popular Sivite hymn which in spite of its being a fairly long one is frequently committed to memory by pious Hindus, both men and women, who may not know Sanskrit but who roughly guess its meaning. This text gives a number of characteristic consonant conjuncts of Sanskrit which it is interesting to observe how the Kashmiri transcriber sought to render with the very inadequate means at his command.

§10. In the Perso-Arabic transcription as in the MS., the following points are noteworthy :

ک and گ are used indiscriminately. This evidently is due to a false substitution of گ for ک at a time when ب was coming to be established in Persian orthography for the sound of [ g ]. So گ is used for ک and نک (and even, ک) for نگ. Interchange of چ and ج is similarly to be explained. ش and س are frequently interchanged.

ت (=t) is often used for د (=d), and *vice versa*.

پ and ب are also interchanged.



و and ړ as is natural, are used one for other.

The habit of not indicating the consonantal dots (*nuqtas*) is responsible for the use of ج چ ز خ almost indiscriminately, and for frequent interchange among ا آ ۈ ۄ and ۅ .

Sometimes no dot is given below or above, and then in the present transcription only a line is given.

§11. The entire *stotra* in its Persian transcription, Romanised, is given below, together with the original Sanskrit in Roman transliteration. The latter is given first as (a), and the Romanisation of the Persian transliteration comes after as (b). For the first eight verses I have appended, as (c), a tentative phonetic transcription (in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association) based on the original Persian copy. This seeks to indicate how the copyist pronounced the Sanskrit. Interesting points have occasionally been noted in the case of the other verses.

In the Roman transcription of the Persian, vowels have been omitted, following the habit of the Persian (or Perso-Arabic script). Mistakes in the Persian transcript have been sought to be indicated within brackets: e.g. in Verse 6 (iii), for the Skt. [-jānanē kah] we have in the Persian [xyy k'], which is an obvious mistake in transcribing [janny k'] of the original MS. In the matter of wrong use of ك for ک, and of other letters, the MS. has been faithfully followed in the Roman transcript. The following is the table of the Roman equivalents for the Persian letters:

'=ا; ā=آ; b=ب; p=پ; t=ت; ṭ=ٹ; j=ج; c=چ;  
 ḥ=ح; x (in place of the common kh)=خ; d=د;  
 r=ر; z=ز; š (in place of the usual sh)=ش; s=س;  
 't=ط; f=ف; q=ق; 'ع; k=ک; g=گ; l=ل; m=م;  
 n=ن; w=و; h=ه; y=ی, =ے. The other Perso-Arabic letters ث, ذ, ژ, ص, ض, ظ, غ do not occur.

The nature of this kind of transcription which omits

vowels will be seen from the following Persian and Urdu examples :

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل ما را

بخال هندوش بخشم سمرقند ر بخارا را

= 'gr ān trk šyr'zy bdst ārd dl m'r'

bx'l hndwš bxšm smrqnd w bx'r'r'.

ای گلستان اندلس و دن ہے یاد تجھ کو

تھا تیری قالوں میں جب اسایان ہمارا

= 'y glst'n 'ndls, wh dn hy y'd tjhkw

th' tiry d'lywn myn jb 'sy'n hm'r'.

(a) (Hindi) śrī rāma jī sahāya

(b) sry r'm jy sh'y

(c) [s(i)ri: ra:mə ji: sahā:jə]

(a) ōṇi namaḥ śrī-gaṇēśāya namaḥ

(b) 'wng nmw (=nmh) sry gnyš'y nmh

(c) [o:ṅ namas s(i)ri: gaṇe:sa:jə namaḥ]

### VERSE 1

(i) (a) mahimnaḥ pāraṇ tē parama-viduṣō yady  
asadṛṣī

(b) mhm'n p'rnty prm whdṛghw jdd šdršy

(c) [maḥimnā: pa:raṇ te: paramavidukho:  
jaddasadrī:]

(ii) (a) stutir brahmādinām api tadavasannās tvayi  
giraḥ

(b) 'stwtr (= 'stwtr) brhm'n dyn'n bh'y (<mpy)  
tdwsn'n 'wsjy (= 'stwjy) gr'

(c) [ (ə)stutir brahmā:di:nā:mapi tadawa-  
sannā:stwaḥji gira:]

(iii) (a) athāvācyah śarvaḥ s va-mati-pariṇāmāvadhi  
grṇan

(b) 'ṭh'w'c' srw' 'stwmsy (= 'swmty) pryn'm'n  
wdy grn

- (c) [aṭha : wa : cca : sarwa : swamati parinā : mā :  
wad (fi) i girnan]
- (iv) (a) mamāpyēṣaḥ stōtrē hara nirapavādaḥ pari-  
karaḥ.  
(b) mm'n bhy khs 'stwttry hr nrpw'd' pry gr'.  
(c) [mamā : pye : khas sto : tre : hara nirapawa : -  
da : parikara : ]

## VERSE 2

- (i) (a) atītaḥ panthānam tava ca mahimā vān-  
manasayōḥ (-yōr)  
(b) 'tyt'h p—th'nk (=pnth'nng) tw sn(=s ?)  
mhm'n w'ng mnsyhw  
(c) [Ati : ta : (fi) pantha : naṅ tawa tsa (sa ? ca ?)  
maḥimā : wa : ṅ manasa : jo : fi]
- (ii) (a) (r)-atad-vyāvṛtṭyā yaṁ cakitam abhidhattē  
śrutir api  
(b) znd (=rtd) wy'brty' yng jgt (=ckt) mbhy  
dhnty (=dhṭty) srty rpy  
(c) [ (r)atad wja : britja : jaṅ cakitamabhidhattē :  
srutirapi : ]
- (iii) (a) sa kasya stōtavyaḥ katividha-guṇaḥ kasya  
viśayaḥ  
(b) sksy 'stwtw y' kty whd kn'n ks wxy'  
(c) [sa kasja sto : tawja : katiwidha guna : kassa  
wikha : (= ?wikha : )]
- (iv) (a) padē tv arvācīne patati na manaḥ kasya na  
vacaḥ.  
(b) pdy twrw' elny (=cyny) n—ty (=ptty)  
nmn'n ks nwc'  
(c) [pade : twarwa : ci : ne : patati na mana :  
kassa na waca : ]

## VERSE 3

- (i) (a) madhu-sphīlā vācaḥ paramam amṛtaṁ nir-  
mitavataḥ (-vatas)

- (b) mdhw 'sfy' (= 'sfyt') bw'e' prmm tng  
(=rtng) nrmt wt
- (c) [madfñu-sphi:ta: wa:ca: (ba:ca:?) para-  
mam vmritaṅ nirmīṭawata-]
- (ii) (a) (-s) tava brahman kiṇ vāg api sura-gurōr  
vismaya-padaṇ
- (b) 'stw brhm mn ky' kpy (=kng w'gpy) sr krw  
bs my pdng
- (c) [(s) tawə brafi(ə)mmān kiṇ wa:gapi survguro:  
bisimajapadaṅ]
- (iii) (a) mama tv ētāṇ vāṇīm guṇa-kathana puṇyēna  
bhavataḥ
- (b) mmt twy t'uk b'nyk (=b'ng) kn kthn yhn  
=phny for pny) bhwt'
- (c) [mamattwe:ta:ṅ ba:ni:ṅ guṇakathana-  
punje:na bhawata:]
- (iv) (a) punāmīty arthē' smin pura-mathana buddhir  
vyavasitā.
- (b) pu'n myn tṛthy smn pwrnthn bwdhr ywst'  
(=bywst')
- (c) punā:mi:ttarthe:smin puramathana bud-  
dhir bjawasita:]

VERSE 4

- (i) (a) tavāiśvaryaṃ yat taj jagad-udaya-rakṣā-  
pralaya-kṛt
- (b) tw(y) swrjng jt' (=jttj) jgdwhy (=jgdwdy)  
rkhy' prkrt (=prlykrt)
- (c) [tawaiśwarjaṅ jattaj jagadudaja rakkhja:  
pralajakrit]
- (ii) (a) trayīvastu vyastamtiṣṣugūṇa-bhinnāsutanuṣu
- (b) try wstw dṣtng (=wystng) tsrkhw gwn dr  
bhn' st (=sw) mkhw (=tnkhw)
- (c) [traji: wastu wjastṅ tisrikhu guṇabhinna:  
su tanukhu]
- (iii) (a) abhavyānām asmin varada ramaṇīyām  
aramaṇīm

- (b) 'lyhy'n'm (*corrected from* 'kyh'n'm *for*  
'bhwy'n'm) 'smu wrd rmyy'mrmyy  
(c) [AbhAwja:na:m asmin warada rama ni:  
ja:m araməni:m]
- (iv) (a) vihautuṃ vyākrośiṃ vidadhata ihāikē jaḍa-  
dhiyaḥ.  
(b) whnk tw hnk (=whngtwng) by'krwšyk  
(=ng) whd wht (=dht) 'hyhyky jr ( ) dy'  
(c) [wiflɔtɔŋ bja:kro:ši:ŋ wiɖaɖɦaɖa iɦaɦke:  
jaɖa dija: (=ɖɦija:)]

## VERSE 5

- (i) (a) kimīhaḥ kiṇ kāyaḥ sa khalu kim upāyas tri-  
bhuvanam  
(b) km̐y' kngk'y' mgh lw (=skhlw) kmwp'y'  
'str wbnk (=bwng)  
(c) [kimi:ɦa: kiŋka:ja: sakɦalu kimupa:ja:  
striɓuɓanɔŋ]
- (ii) (a) kimādhārō dhātā sṛjati kimupādānam iti ca  
(b) km'ɖɦ'rw dh't' srpty (=srjty) kmwp'd'n 'tyc  
(c) [kima:ɖɦa:ro:ɖɦa:ta: sri (sir) jati kimupa:-  
da:nəm iti ca]
- (iii) (a) atarkyaśvāryō tvayy anavasara-duḥstho hata-  
dhiyaḥ  
(b) 'lrky swrjy twy' twsrw (=nwsrw) dwstw  
ht dy'  
(c) [AtArkɔiswArje: twɔjj-ɔnɔɓasara dusto:ɦata  
dija:]
- (iv) (a) kutarkō'yaṃ kāmścin mukharayati mōhāya  
jagataḥ.  
(b) ktr kw hnk k'cn (= ? k'ngscn) mwghrjty  
mwh' jgt'  
(c) [kutArko:ɦaŋ (=jaŋ) ka:ŋ(ś)cin mukɦaraɦati  
mo:ɦa:ja(mo:ɦa:ɦa?) ɦaɦata:]

## VERSE 6

- (i) (a) ajaunmānō lōkāḥ kimavayavavantō'pi jagatām

- (b) 'jnm'nw lwk' km wjwvntw py jgt'-  
 (c) [Ajanma: no: lo:ka: kimAWAJAWAwanto: pi  
 jagata: -]  
 (ii) (a) (-m) adhiṣṭhātāraṃ kim bhava-vidhir anā-  
 dṛtya bhavati  
 (b) mdst't'rnk kuk bhv dwy (=wdy) rn'dhrt  
 bhwtv  
 (c) [madīṣṭa: ta: raṅ (?) kiṅ bfiAWawidir ana:  
 dritta bfiAwati: ]  
 (iii) (a) anīśō vā kuryād bhuvana-jananē kaḥ parikaṛō  
 (b) 'ty (=ny) ṣw b' kwry't bhwn xyy (=junny)-k'  
 prykrw  
 (c) [Ani: ṣo: ba: kurja: t bfiuWANA-JANANE: ka:  
 parikaro: ]  
 (iv) (a) yatō mandās tvām praty amaravara saṃ-  
 śrāta imē.  
 (b) jtw mndh'stw'nk prty mrwr snsy rt 'myn.  
 (c) [Jato: mAnda: stwa: ṅ pratjamarAWARA san  
 (=ṅ?) se: ratō imē:]

VERSE 7

- (i) (a) trayī sākhyam yogaḥ paśupati-matam vāis-  
 navam iti  
 (b) try s'ukhuk jwg' pṣpty tuk (=mtuk) wśnwmtv  
 (c) [traji: sa: ṅkhaṅ jo: ga: paśupatiMATaṅ wiś-  
 nAWam iti: ]  
 (ii) (a) prabhinnē prasthānē paramidamadah path-  
 yam iti ca  
 (b) bhrwny prst'ny prmdmdh' plt mth j (=c)  
 (c) [parwinne: (?) parbinne:) prast(h?)a: ne:  
 , paramidamada: pattham iti ca]  
 (iii) (a) rucīnām vāicitryād rju-kuṭīla-nānā-patha-  
 juṣām  
 (b) reym'ng (=reyn'ng) wy ctry' drḥw (=drjw)  
 ktl n'n' bht jwkh'ng  
 (c) [ruci: na: ṅ vāicitrya: d rju-kuṭīlana: na: -  
 pathA-Jukha: ṅ]

- (iv) (a) nṛ̥ṇām ēkō gamyas tvam asi payasām arṇava  
iva.  
(b) nrm' (=n')my kw ky' (=gmy') 'stmsy pys'  
mrnb 'b  
(c) [urina:me:ko: gAmjAs tAmAsi pAjAsa:mAr-  
nAbA iBΔ]

## VERSE 8

- (i) (a) mahōkṣaḥ khaṭvāṅgaṃ paraśur ajinam bhas-  
ma phaṇinaḥ  
(b) m' mhwgyh' ghtw'kk (=ngng) prswrjuk  
(=jnng) blsm fhnn'  
(c) [mafo:khyA: khaṭwa:ṅgaṅ paraSurAjinAṅ  
bhasma phaṇina:faṇina:]
- (ii) (a) kapālañcētiyat tava varada tantrōpakaraṇam  
(b) ky' (=p') lnk chth (=j) tw brd tng trwp  
krng (=krng)  
(c) [kApa:laṅ ce:ti:jat tAwA bArAdA taṅtro:  
pAkArAnṅ]
- (iii) (a) surās tāṃ tām ṛddhim dadhati tu bhavad-  
bhrū-praṇihitam  
(b) sr' 'st'k (=nk) 'st' mrdyng dhdmty (=dhdhty  
for ddhty) bh (=tw) bhwwt bh bhw  
prnyhtng  
(c) [sura:sta:ṅ sta:m riddiṅ dAdhati tu bAdiWat  
bfi(r)u: praṇiṇitAṅ]
- (iv) (a) na hi svātmārāmaṃ viśaya-mrga-trṣṇā bhra-  
mayati.  
(b) nhy sw'tm'r'mhng wighy mrk tsn' bhrm jty  
(c) [naḥi: swa:tma:ra:mAṅ wikhAja mirga  
t(r)i-ṣna: bhrAmAjaTi:]

## VERSE 9

- (i) (a) dhruvaṃ kaścit sarvaṃ sakalam aparas tv  
adhruvaṃ idaṃ

- (b) dhrwhnk kset srd(=srw)hnk skl mp rsw'  
(=rstw') dhrwmdk (=dng)
- (ii) (a) parō dhrāuvyādhrāuvyē jagati gadati vyasta-  
viṣayē  
(b) prw dhrwdy' (=dhrwy') dhrwbhy jgty gdt  
b'st bgy (=bxy)
- (iii) (a) samastē' py ōtaasmin pura-mathana tāir  
vismita iva  
(b) smty(=smsty) py smbu (=tsmu?) prmtnyr  
(=prmtln tyr) wsmbit āh
- (iv) (a) stuvan jihreṃi tvāṃ na khalu nanu dhrṣtā  
mukharatā.  
(b) 'swnk (= 'stwnk) jty mtw'nk (=jhrym tw'nk)  
nxlw nn dhrṣtw' (=dhrṣt') mwgh zu' (=rt')

VERSE 10

- (i) (a) tavāiśvaryaṃ yatnād yadupari viriñcir harir  
adhaḥ  
(b) twy swrjnk jut' (=jtn')d 'dwpry brn jyhw  
(=jyr) hry rbd' (=rdh')
- (ii) (a) paricchēttuṃ yātāv analam anala-skandha-  
vapuṣaḥ  
(b) pry chtnk j't'wnl mn ls qndwbwgh'
- (iii) (a) tatō bhakti-śraddhābhara-guru gṛṇadbhyāṃ  
giriśa yat  
(b) ttw bhgty srdh'bhr grw krn' bh'ynk (=grnd-  
bhy'ng) gry śyat
- (iv) (a) svayaṃ tasthē tābhyāṃ tava kim anuvṛttir  
na phalati.  
(b) śwng (=swyng) tṣty t'wy'ng tw k mnw brt  
tr n flty.

VERSE 11

- (i) (a) ayatnā dāsādya tri-bhuvanam avāira-vyatika-  
raṃ  
(b) 'ent'd (= 'jtn'd) 'sdh' trw bhwn mbry  
(=mbyr) wty krng



- (ii) (a) daśāsyō yadbāhūn abhṛta raṇa-kaṇḍū-para-  
vaśān  
(b) dš'syw jd w'hwng bhrt rn kndwp rbš'n
- (iii) (a) śiraḥ-padma-śrēṇī-racita-caraṇāmbhōruha-ba-  
lēḥ  
(b) sr' pdm sryny rcty (=rcyt) crm' (=crn')  
nkbhw rwhbly
- (iv) (a) sthīrāyās tvad-bhaktōs tripura-hara visphūr-  
jitam idam.  
(b) 'str'y' 'std bhgty 'strpwrhr wsfwrḥ(=j)t  
mdnk.

## VERSE 12

- (i) (a) amuṣya tvat-sēvā-samadhigata-sāram bhuja-  
vanam  
(b) āmwkht wt syw' smdy kt s'rng bhjbng  
(=bnng)
- (ii) (a) balāt kailāsē' pi tvad-adhivasatāu vikrama-  
yataḥ  
(b) wl't kyl'sy py tww (=twl) rdy dtsw  
(=dywstw) bkrm jt'
- (iii) (a) alabhyā pātālē' py alasa-calintānguṣṭha-  
śīrasi  
(b) 'lby' p't'ly ysl sy (=pyls) clyt'nk kšt sršy
- (iv) (a) pratiṣṭhā tvayy āsīd dhruvam upacitē  
muhyati khalah.  
(b) prtst' twy' sy krwmt etw (=drwm petw)  
mwy jt (=mwjyt) ghl'.

## VERSE 13

- (i) (a) yad ṛddhim sūtrāmnō varada paramōccāir  
api satīm  
(b) jr'wdyn (=jdrddyng) stwr'n mw (=swtr'-  
nuw) brd bhr mwey rpy sty

- (ii) (a) (-m) adhās cakrē bāṇaḥ parijana-vidhēyas  
tribhuvanaḥ  
(b) mdhw ckry w'n' pry jn wdy y' 'str d(=w) nk  
(=nng)
- (iii) (a) na tac citraṃ tasmin varivasitari tvac-car-  
aṇayōr  
(b) n t' ctruk n (=t) smn try (=bry) w styr  
(=stry) tw' crn jwr
- (iv) (a) na kasyā unnatyāi bhavati śīrasas tvayy  
avanatīḥ.  
(b) nksy' pwny' 'tyr (= 'nnty) bhwtv sss (=sres)  
twj wnty.

## VERSE 14

- (i) (a) akāṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa-kṣaya-cakita-dēvāsura-  
krpā-  
(b) 'k'nd' brhm'nd' khyc kt dyw' swr kry'  
(=krp')
- (ii) (a) -vidhēyasyāsīd yas trinayana viṣaṃ saṃhṛta-  
vataḥ  
(b) bdy jsy' syd y' 'stry njn —rḥ (=bx) sm  
rt wt'
- (iii) (a) sa kalmāṣaḥ kaṇṭhē tava na kurutē na śriyam  
ahō  
(b) skl 'kh' (=m-'kh') gnty twn gwrw ny (=ty)  
n' sry mhw
- (iv) (a) vikārō' pi ślāghyō bhuvana-bhaya-bhaṅga-  
vyasaninaḥ.  
(b) bk'rwphṣ l'ghw bhwn bhj bhñk ws nn'.

## VERSE 15

- (i) (a) asiddhārthā nāiva kvacid api sa dēvāsura-  
narē  
(b) 'sd dh'r th' nyw kwjy dpy sdyw' srnrhy
- (ii) (a) nivartantē nityaṃ jagati jayinō yasya viśi-  
khāh  
(b) nwrtn ty nthg (=ntyng) jgty jny (=jy)  
nw js bs gh'

- (iii) (a) sa paśyann īśa tvām itara-sura-sādhāraṇam  
abhūt  
(b) sps 'ty (=ny) st myn tr' swr dh'rn (=s'dh'rn)  
mbhwt
- (iv) (a) smarāḥ smartavyātmā na hi vaśiṣu pathyaḥ  
paribhavaḥ.  
(b) smr 'smt'by 'tm' (=smrtby'tm') bhy (=nhy)  
bāyghw bth' pry bhwt'.

## VERSE 16

- (i) (a) mahī pādāghātād vrajati sahasā saṁśaya-  
padaṁ  
(b) mhy p'd'gh't' brjny (=brjty) shu' (=shs')  
s'sy (=smsy) pdng
- (ii) (a) padaṁ viṣṇōr bhrāmyad-bhuja-parigha-rug-  
na-graha-gaṇaṁ  
(b) pdng wśnwr bhr'sya (=bhr'myd) bhwj pry-  
ghrwgn ghrh khng (=gnng)
- (iii) (a) muhur dyāur dyāuḥsthyam yāty anibhrta-  
jaṭā-tāḍita-taṭā  
(b) mdhr (=mwhr) gd'w dhwsṭm (=dywr  
dywstm) y'trn (=y'tyn) bhr jt't't'tt th'  
(=bhrt jt' t'lt tt')
- (iv) (a) jagad-rakṣāyāi tvaṁ naṭasi nanu vāmāiva  
vibhutā.  
(b) jgt d (=r) gh'jh twm nt sy nwn w'my pwy  
bhwt'.

## VERSE 17

- (i) (a) viyad-vyāpī tūrā-gaṇa-guṇita-phēnōdgama-  
rucih  
(b) byd by'py t'r' gngnty (=nyt) fwnw (=gnng  
fyw) dkmrcy
- (ii) (a) pravāhō vārāṁ yaḥ prṣata-laghu-drṣṭaḥ  
śirasi tē  
(b) prw'hw w'r'nk j' prkhth tlwghd (=lghw d)  
rāyw (=drsth) srsty

- (iii) (a) jagad dīpākāraṃ jaladhi-valayaṃ tēna kṛtam  
i-  
(b) jgd dy y' (=p') k'rng jldy bl ysn (=bly  
'ntyn) krt ym (=myu)
- (iv) (a) -ty anēnāivōnnēyaṃ dhr̥ta-mahima divyaṃ  
tava vapuḥ.  
(b) ty ny ynw (or ysk) dhrt mhyṃ dwnk  
(=dwyng) tw wpw.

## VERSE 18

- (i) (a) rathaḥ kṣāuṇī yantā śata-dhṛtir agēndrō  
dhanur athō  
(b) rth' khwny jn t' stt dhrt y pgyndrw dhwn  
(=dhnw) rthw
- (ii) (a) rathāṅgē candrārkaū ratha-caraṇa-pāṇiḥ  
śara iti  
(b) th'ky (=rth'ngy) endr'rkw rthh crnp'ny  
srdhrt y (=sr 'ty)
- (iii) (a) didhakṣōs tē kō' yaṃ tripura-tṛṇam āḍam-  
bara-vidhir  
(b) dhdyghw (=dydhkhw) sty kwy'ng trpr trn  
p'ndwbr (=trn m'qṃbr) dhdr (=wdhr)
- (iv) (a) vidhōyāiḥ kṛīḍantyō na khalu para-tantrāḥ  
prabhu-dhiyaḥ.  
(b) wdhy by (=yy) kry rntw nxlw pr m(=t) ntr'  
prhw (=prbhw) dy'.

## VERSE 19

- (i) (a) haris tē sāhasraṃ kamala-balim ādhāya  
padayōr  
(b) hry 'sty ś' strng (=s'hsrng) kml bly m'd'y  
pdywr
- (ii) (a) yad ēkōnē tasmin niḡam udaharēn nātra-  
kamalam  
(b) ydy kwny tsmn nj mdhrynt r knlnk
- (iii) (a) gatō bhaktyudrēkaḥ pariṇatim asāu cakra-  
vapuṣā

- (b) gtw bhgtwdryk' pry mnty (=nty) msw ckrw-  
pwx'  
(iv) (a) trayāṇām rakṣāyāi tripura-hara jāgarti-  
jagatām.  
(b) tryy' n'm rkhy' bhy (=yy) trpwrhr c'krty  
jgt'ng.

## VERSE 20

- (i) (a) kratāu supṭē jāgrat tvam asi phala-yōgē  
kratu-matām  
(b) krtw sw'yny (=swpty) j'gr' twm sy fljwgy  
krtwmrt'ng (=mt'ng)  
(ii) (a) kva karma pradhvastam phalati puruṣārādha-  
nam ṛtē  
(b) kw kr b' (=krm) br (=pr) wdwstk flny (=flty)  
pwrwgh'r'dhn mty (=mrty)  
(iii) (a) atas tvām samprēkṣya kratuṣu phala-dāna-  
pratibhuvam  
(b) 'tstw'mt prygh' (=tstw'm smprykh') krghw  
(=krtkhw) fld'n'prnty (=prty) blwm  
(iv) (a) śrutāu śraddhām badhvā dṛḍha-parikaraḥ  
karmasu janaḥ.  
(b) srtw sry (=srd) dh'm wdh' krtwgr' (=drprkr')  
krm sjn'.

## VERSE 21

- (i) (a) kriyā-dakṣaḥ dakṣaḥ kratu-patir adhīśas  
tanu-bhṛtām  
(b) kry' dghw y' dghy' ktw (=krtw) pty rdyṣ  
ṣtw (=stnw) brt'  
(ii) (a) (m) ṛṣṇām ūrtvijyam śaraṇada sadasyāḥ  
sura-gaṇāḥ  
(b) mrgy n'm' tj'ng (=rtjng) srnds wsy' (=dsy')  
srgn'  
(iii) (a) kratu-bhramśas tvattaḥ kratu-phala-vidhāna-  
vyasaninō  
(b) krtw bhrnṣ ṣtw' (=ttw') krtghw (=krtw)  
fl du' (=wd'n') bhṣ nuw (=bysnnw)

- (iv) (a) dhruvaṃ kartuḥ śraddhā-vidhuram abhicā-  
rāya hi makhāḥ.  
(b) dhrwnk krtw srdh' wdrn [b]y c'r' bhy (=hy)  
mgh'.

## VERSE 22

- (i) (a) prajā-nāthaṃ nātha prasabham adhikaṃ  
svām duhitaram  
(b) pr (=prj') n'thk (=n'thng) n'th' prs mb  
(=bm) dhy kn sw' dwytrnk  
(ii) (a) gataṃ rōhidbhūtāṃ riramayisum ṛṣasya  
vapuṣā  
(b) gmng (=gtng) rwd bhwt'nk rrmhyghw  
mrghs wpwgh'  
iii) (a) dhanuṣpāṇēr yātaṃ divam api sapatrākṛtaṃ  
amum  
(b) dhnwghh p'ur j'tng dwmhy (=dwmpy) sptr'-  
grd mmk (=mmng)  
(iv) (a) trasantaṃ tē'dyāpi tyajati na mṛga-vyādha-  
rabhasaḥ.  
(b) nrsng tnty wy'py (=trsngtn ty dy' py) yty  
tn (=tyjtn) mrg bb'd (=by'd) rws'.

## VERSE 23

- (i) (a) sva-lāvanyāśaṃsā dhṛta-dhanuṣam alnāya  
tṛṇavat  
(b) sl' ybn' (=bny') skśa(=sngs') dhrt dlghnw  
(=dhnwkh) mhu'y trn wt  
(ii) (a) puraḥ pluṣtaṃ dṛṣtvā purama-thana puspā-  
yudham api  
(b) pr' btng (=plstng) dhārtw' (=drātw')  
prmṭhn pugh' (=pughj) jd mhy (=mpy)  
(iii) (a) yadi strāṇaṃ dēvī yama-nirata-dēhārdha-  
ghaṭanād  
(b) yady stryng (=stryng) dywy jm ny rt dy  
h'r dghtn'

- (iv) (a) (-d.) avāiti tvām adhvā vata varada mugdhā  
yuvatayaḥ.  
(b) dpy (=dby) tt w' mdw' wt wrd mkdh'  
ḥwty' (=jwty').

## VERSE 24

- (i) (a) śmasānēṣv ākrīḍā smara-hara piśācāḥ saha-  
carāś  
(b) sms'ny khw'kry r' smrhr pś'c' sher'  
(ii) (a) citā-bhasmālēpaḥ srag api nṛ-karōṭī-pari-  
karaḥ  
(b) et'bhsm'lyp' srg by nry grwty prygr'  
(iii) (a) amaṅgalyaṃ śīlaṃ tava bhavatu nāmāivam  
akhilaṃ  
(b) 'mng klnk (= 'mnglng) sylng tw bhwtw n'm  
bhm (=ybm) khylng  
(iv) (a) tathāpi smartṛṇām varada paramam maṅ-  
galam asi.  
(b) tt'py smr mtry n'k (=smrtry n'ng) brd  
prmnl (=prmmngl) msy.

## VERSE 25

- (i) (a) manaḥ pratyak cittē savidham avidhyāyātta-  
marutaḥ  
(b) mn' prty (=prtyk) cty swmd (=swdm) phy  
(=by) dh'y' tmrt'  
(ii) (a) prahr̥ṣyad rōmāṇaḥ pramada-salilōtsaṅgita-  
dr̥śaḥ  
(b) prahr ghwd hrwm'n' prmd slylw̥tsnkrf (=t)  
st' (*illegible*)  
(iii) (a) yadālōkyāhlādaṃ hrada iṃa nimajjyāmṛta-  
mayē  
(b) jd' lwky' lh'dnk hrd āb nj' (=nmj') mrt mgy  
(iv) (a) dadhaty antas tattvaṃ kim api yaminaḥ taṃ  
kila bhavān.  
(b) ddthng ts tng (=ddhtngtstng) km by ymy  
ns tt (=tm) kl bhw'n.

## VERSE 26

- (i) (a) tvam arkas tvam sōmas tvam asi pavanas  
tvam huta-vahas  
(b) tmrkstng swm 'stng sy yp (=pb) tstg  
(=nstng) htbh'
- (ii) (a) (-s) tvam āpas tvam vyōma tvam u dharanir  
ātmā tvam iti ca  
(b) 'stm'p' sng (=stng) bhwm (=bywm) twm  
dhrt(=n)y r'tn' (=r'tm') nwmty (=twmty) c
- (iii) (a) paricchinnām ēvam tvayi pariṇamitā bi-  
bhratu giram  
(b) prychn'mywnk twy brty t'bt (=prynmt' by)  
br tw krng
- (iv) (a) na vidmas tat tattvam vāyam iha tu yat  
tvam na bhavasi.  
(b) nwd' (=nwdm') stwt' nk (=sttwng) njy  
(=bjm) lny (= 'hy t) yt 'nk (=twng)  
n'bhwsy.

## VERSE 27

- (i) (a) trayīm tistrō vṛttis tri-bhuvanam athō trīn  
apī surān  
(b) try 'nk tsrw brty 'stry bhwn 'ṭhw (=mthw)  
ṭhrt (=trynpy) sr'
- (ii) (a) (-n) akārādyāir varṇāis tribhir abhidadhat-  
tīrṇa-vikṛti  
(b) nk'r'dhr (=dyr) wrnhy 'try rdy (=bhrbhy)  
dwtyn' (=ddtyrn') bkrty
- (iii) (a) tūriyam tē dhāma dhvanibhir avarundhānam  
aṇubhiḥ  
(b) twry jnty dh'm dhnwy (=dhnwybr) rb rnd'n  
mnwdy (=mawby)
- (iv) (a) samastam vyastam tvāṇi śaraṇa-da grṇāty  
ōm iti padam.  
(b) smtṅk (=smstng) m's (=b's) tt (=tng) tw'nk  
sr-d gny'tyw (=grn'ty w) mdy pdng.



## VERSE 28

- (i) (a) bhavaḥ śarvō rudraḥ paśu-patir athōgraḥ  
saha mahāms  
(b) bhw' srbw rdr' bšwbdy rthwgr' s; y (=sh)  
b'nk (=mh'ng)
- (ii) (a) (-s) tathā bhīmēśānāv iti yad abhidhānāṣṭa-  
kam idam  
(b) 'st; ' (=stlh') bhymyn 'sth'n' (= 'sya'n') pty  
(=bty) ydwd'n' 'stng ydng (=stkmydng)
- (iii) (a) amuṣmin pratyēkaṃ pravicarati dēvaḥ śrutir  
api  
(b) 'smin (= 'msmn) prtyknk prwy crty dyw'  
srt y rby
- (iv) (a) priyāyāsmāi dhūmnē praṇihita-namsyō 'smi  
bhavatē.  
(b) pry'y' smy dh'mny prymt (=prnyht) tms  
(=nms) 'w smy bhwny (=bhwt y)

## VERSE 29

- (i) (a) namō nēdiṣṭhāya priya-dava-daviṣṭhāya ca  
namō  
(b) nmw ny dst''j prc drwbšt''j (=prjdwdbšt''j)  
nmw
- (ii) (a) namaḥ kṣōdiṣṭhāya smara-hara mahiṣṭhāya  
ca namaḥ  
(b) nmw ghwdhšt''j tmr (=smr) hr chs (=mhs)  
n' (=t') 'j nmh
- (iii) (a) namō varṣiṣṭhāya tri-nayana yaviṣṭhāya ca  
namaḥ  
(b) nmw pršt''j (=bršt''j) prnyn (=trnyn) ywšt'  
j nñw
- (iv) (a) namaḥ sarvasmāi tē tad idam iti śarvāya ca  
namaḥ.  
(b) nmh srws smy ty tdy rmt y (=dmt y) srw''j  
nmh.

VERSE 30

- (i) (a) bahula-rajase viśvōtpattāu bhavāya namō  
namah  
(b) bhwl rjsy wśw tp'w (= tptw) bhv'y nmw nmh
- (ii) (a) prabala-tamase tat-samphārē harāya namō  
namah  
(b) prwl tmsy tt smh'ry hr'y nmw nmh
- (iii) (a) jana-sukha-kṛtē sattvō tpattāu mṛḍāya namō  
namah  
(b) jn skhk kṛty stwt ptw mrr', nmw nmh
- (iv) (a) pramahasi-padē nistrāiḡuṇyē śivāya namō  
namah.  
(b) prm hs pdy nsay (= nistry) gnyw (= gwny)  
śbā, nmw nmh.

VERSE 31

- (i) (a) kṛśa-pariṇati-cētaḥ klēśa-vaśyaṃ kva cēdaṃ  
(b) krś prn ct' (= p'ntcyt') klys wst'ng (= wsy-  
ng) key dhng
- (ii) (a) kva ca tava guṇa-sīmōllaṅghinī śaśvad-  
rddhih  
(b) kj tw kn smw lgny (= lngny) sws (= ssw)  
dhry (= drdhry)
- (iii) (a) iti caktitam amandikṛtya mām bhaktir ādhād  
(b) 'tc kt mmdy (= mndy) kṛt n'm (= m'm)  
bhgty r'hd' (= r'd h'd)
- (iv) (a) varada caraṇayōs tē vākya-puṣpōpahāram.  
(b) wrw (= wrd) crn jw snty (= sty) n'k (= b'k)  
pśwbh'rnk.

VERSE 32

- (i) (a) asita-giri-samaṃ syāt kajjalaṃ sindhu-pātrē  
(b) 'sd kr tmn (= smng) smy' (= sy't) kj jlṅg  
sndhw p'try
- (ii) (a) sura-taru-vara-śākhā lēkhanī pattram urvī

- (b) sw (=sr) trw br š'x' lyghny ptr mwr by  
 (iii) (a) likhati yadi grhītvā śāradā sarva-kālam  
 (b) lghny (=lkhty) ydy ghrtđ' (=grhtw') s'rd'  
 srw k'l'nk  
 (iv) (a) tad api tava guṇānām īśa pāraṃ na yāti.  
 (b) td py ty (=tb) kn'n' myš y'rnk (=p'rng)  
 nj'ty.

## VERSE 33

- (i) (a) asuru-sura-munīndrāir arcitasyeṇdu-māulēr  
 (b) 'sr sr mnwdry (=mwnyndry) rrecty snd  
 (=syndw) hw (=mw) ly  
 (ii) (a) grathita-guṇa-mahimnō nirguṇasyeśvarasya  
 (b) grbhttt (=grtht) gn mhmwn nrgn 'sy[swrsy]  
 (iii) (a) sakala-sura variṣṭhaḥ puṣpa-dantābhīdhānō  
 (b) skl swr bršt' pšwdhnt' dwh' (=wdh') nw  
 (iv) (a) ruciram alaghu-vṛttāiḥ stōtram ētac cakāra.  
 (b) rey rm ghw (=lghw) brt 'y 'stwtr myn tc k'r'.

## VERSE 34

- (i) (a) ahar ahar anavadyaṃ dhūrjateṣ stōtram ētat  
 (b) āhr hr nw'dhng (=dyng) dhwrcty' stwtr myn  
 tt  
 (ii) (a) paṭhati parama-bhaktiā śuddha-cittaḥ  
 pumān yaḥ  
 (b) pṭ ty pr (=prm) bhgt' šd ct' pr (=pw) m'n  
 y'  
 (iii) (a) sa bhavati śiva-lōkē rudra-tulyaḥ tathātra  
 (b) sbhwty (=sbhwty) šblwky rdhr twly' sd' tm'  
 (=tr')  
 (iv) (a) pracura-tara-dhanāyuh putramān kirti-  
 māṃśca.  
 (b) p (=pr) crtr dh'n'cw (=dh'n'jw) pr(=ptr)  
 w'n<sup>o</sup> krtym''nsc

## VERSE 35

- (i) (a) dīkṣā dānaṃ tapas tīrthaṃ hōmā-yōgādīkāḥ  
 kriyāḥ

- (b) dy ghy' d'ng (=d'ng) pš (=tpš) tyr ltk  
 (=thng) hwn (=hwn) jg ādy k' krp'  
 (=kry')
- (ii) (a) mahimna-stava-pāṭhasya kalām nārhanṭi  
 soḍaśīm.
- (b) mhm'n 'stw [tr] p't 's kl' n'r huty cwrsm  
 (=šwršym)

## FIRST COLOPHON.

sm'p tw ynk smy 'stw[t]rnk srw phšr wwrn  
 nk 'nwy mwh'ry pyrk knd wbl'knk =samā-  
 ptō'yaṃ samaya-stōtram sarva-pāśa-hara vivara-  
 ṇaṃ ? anvaya ? manōhāri ? ? vibhāgaṃ

## VERSE 36

- (i) (a) mahēśān nāparo dēvō mahimnō nāparā  
 stutiḥ
- (b) mhy s'n' prw dy w' mhm'n' n' prnk sbty  
 (=stty)
- (ii) (a) aghōrān nāparō mantrō nāsti tattvaṃ gurōḥ  
 param.
- (b) ghr'n'k prw mntw n'sty ttk (=ttwng) kwrw  
 pdnk (=prng).

## VERSE 37

- (i) (a) kusuma-daśana-nāmā sarva-gandharva-rājāḥ  
 (b) kswmdsn n'm'n sr[w] kudrwr'y'
- (ii) (a) śasādhara-vara-māulēr dēva-dēvasya dāsah  
 (b) śś. dr br mwlyr dyw dyws sd's'
- (iii) (a) sa-guru nija-mahimnō bhraṣṭa evāśya rōṣāt  
 (b) skhr thy (=nyj) mhm'nw dhṛst (=whṛst for  
 bhrst) 'yw's rwgh't
- (iv) (a) stavanam idam akārṣād divya-divyam  
 mahimnaḥ.
- (b) bhwn (=stwn) md mk'r ky (=khy) db dbnk  
 mhm'n.

## VERSE 38

- (i) (a) suravara-munī-pūjyaṃ svarga-mokṣāika-  
hētum  
(b) swr brmnypwjnk srg mwkhng tynk (=mw-  
khyk hytng)
- (ii) (a) paṭhati yadi manuṣyaḥ prāñjalir nānyacētāḥ  
(b) pṭ ty pdy (=ydy) muwgh' pr'n jl'n'n cty'  
(=cyt')
- (iii) (a) vrajati śiva-samīpaṃ kinnarāḥ stūyamānaḥ  
(b) brjty śbsmy pnk kury 'stwy m'n'
- (iv) (a) stavanam idam amōgham puṣpa-danta-  
praṇītam.  
(b) 'stwn md hw (=mmw) khnk pšwdn-k prnytnk.

## VERSE 39

- (i) (a) śrī-puṣpa-danta-mukha-paṅkaja-nirgatēna  
(b) sry pšwdhmk mknk pk kuk bngnyn (=tyn)
- (ii) (a) stōtrēṇa kilbiṣa-harēṇa hara-priyēṇa  
(b) 'stwtrn kl bx hryn hr' pryn
- (iii) (a) kaṇṭha-sthitēna paṭhitēna samāhitēna  
(b) ktṭh (=knth) 'styn (=sthtyn) pṭ ty tyn sm'  
sy (=hy) tyn
- (iv) (a) supṛīṇitō bhavati bhūta-patir mahēśaḥ.  
(b) spr yn nw (=tw) bhwtly bhwt ptr mhyš'.

§ 12. The Scheme of Transliteration followed in the above is noted below.

## The Vowels

अः initial अ is represented by |=': 'th'w'e' (1)=athāvā-  
cyah; 'tyt'h (2)=atītaḥ; 'mngklnk (24)=amaṅga-  
lyam; etc. But we have |̇=ā- in āmwkht wt (12)  
āmuṣya tvat-, āhr hr (34)=ahar ahar. Interior and  
final अ are occasionally written |: n' (14)=na; krb'  
(20)=karma; j'gr'twm (20)=jāgrat tvam; 'k'nd'-  
brhm'nd' (14)=akhaṇḍā-brahmāṇḍā-; ck'r' (33)=  
cakārā; but this is very rare. Otherwise अ in the  
interior is not indicated, the *zabar* or *fatha*=ā being

understood. Final अः (=ah) is usually | = ā : mhm'n (1) = mahimnaḥ; y' (14) = yah; srw' (1) = śarvaḥ; prygr' (1) = parikaraḥ; gr' (1) = giraḥ; wxy' (3) = viṣayaḥ; sr' (11) = śiraḥ. In one or two rare cases, अः is represented, by 'h = āh : 'tyt'h (2) = atītaḥ; cf nmh (30) namaḥ, which was probably pronounced [namahə]. Before consonant -groups beginning with a sibilant, we have a prothetic ' = ā- : 'wsttr = 'stwttr (1) = stutir; mdhw'sfy(t)' (3) = madhu-sphītāḥ; 'stwnk for 'stwnḡ (9) = stuvan; 'str'y' 'std (11) = sthirāyās tvad-; etc. Cf. s:y = sh (21) = saha, where the *hamza* is used for *ha*.

अ is represented by | = ' : nrpw'd' (1) = nirapavādah. This is always the case. Sometimes we have || = '' pre drwbst''j (= prjdwdbst''j) (29) = priyadava-daviṣṭhāya (pr. prijadawadabiṣṭāja). So ywst''j (29) = yaviṣṭhāya; srw''j (29) = sarvāya. In ādy (35) = ādī we have | ā for अ; so śbā (30) = śivāya.

इ initially, by | = ' with the *zer* understood. Thus, 'tc kt (31) = iti cakita-. Medially, generally by no vowel mark, the *zer* being understood, and frequently by y : tdy dmt'y (29) = tad idam iti; srsty (17) = śīrāsi tē; pre drwbst''j (29) for prjdwdbst''j = priyadavadaviṣṭhāya [= prijadawadabiṣṭha : ja]; brjty śbsmy pñk (38) = vrajati śīva-samīpaṃ; kl bx hryn (39) = kilbiṣa-harēna; mhym (17) = mahima-. Final इ is usually written y : twm sy (20) = tvam asi; pṭ ty (31) = paṭhati: but there are cases where it is not indicated: cf. srsty (17) = śīrasi tē, taken as one word. Note: āb, (9,5) = iva, str:yng (23) = striyaṃ

ई indicated by y : (r)dyṣṣ- (21) = (patir) adhiśas-; khwny (18) = kṣāuṇī; byd by'py (17) = viyad-vyūpī; twry jnty (27) = turīyaṃ tē; etc., etc. In a few instances, y = ई is not written: ghrt'd for grhtw' (33) = grhītā.

उ indifferently is unrepresented (i.e. is indicated by a *pes*h = ū understood), or is represented by w : sr' (8) = surā-; bhwl (30) = bahula; rdr' (28) = rudraḥ; mdhw

(3)=madhu; sr krw (3)=sura-gurō(r); pwr mthn (3) =pura-mathana; bwdhr (3) = buddhir; prm̐thn (23) =pura-mathana; wbwgh' (10)=vapuṣaḥ; krghw for krtkhw (20)=kratuṣu.

ऊ: normally, by w: wsfwrh(=j)t mdnk (11) = visphūrjitam idam; stwr' for swtr' (13)=sūtrā-mbhwt (16) =(-m) abhūt; w'hwng (11) =bāhūn; rn kndw- (11) =raṇa-kaṇḍū-; 'stwy m'n' (38) = stūyamānaḥ.

ऋ, ॠ: by r (= rī) and ry; wy'brty' (2) = vyāvṛtīyā-; grnn (1)=gr̥ṇan; nr- (7)=nṛ-; rdyng (8)=ṛddhiṇ; grd (22)=kṛta-; nrygrwty (24)=nṛ-karōṭī;

ॠ=ry: smr mtry n'k=smrtryn'ng (24)=smarṭṛṇām;

ए= y: ty (1)=tē; 'stwtry (1) = stōtrē; susy rt 'myn (6) =saṇśērata imē (pron: [imē:]).

ए is not indicated in p'nr (22)=pāṇēr-; prychnk (10) =paricchēttum.

ऐ = y: 'hyky (written 'hyhyky) (4) =ihāikē; 'trkyswrjy (5)=atarkyāśvāryē; -dpyt- for -dbyt- (23)=(-d) avāiti; wyetry'd (7)=vaicitryād-; twyswrjnk (10)=tavāīśvar-yaṃ; kyl'sy (12)=kailāsē; sy is also used: paramōccāir bhrmwcy (13)=; strsyng = stryung (23)=strāi-ṇam. ऐ omitted in wśnwmty (7)=vāiṣṇavam iti; n'mbhm (24) =nāmāivam.

ओ: almost always by w: whdwghw; (1)=viduṣō; lwk' (6) lōkaḥ; etc. etc. ओ dropped in jg for jwg (35)=yōga.

औ = w: khwny (18)=kṣāuṇī dēw dhwsṭm (15)=dyāur dyāuḥsthyam; krtw (20)=kraṭāu; srtw (20)=śrūtāu; stwtptw (30)=sattvōtpattāu.

The use of the transcriptions sy and sw for ऐ and औ is interesting. In present day Hindustani, ऐ aand औ of Earlier Hindi has become monophthongs, like [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] respectively; probably this kind of monophthongised pronunciation was the one already current, at the time of the original transcription and sy and sw were devised to indicate the diphthong pronunciation of āi and āu in Sanskrit.

A long vowel, particularly at the end of a word, was nasalised in connexion with the nasal n or m. This final nasalisation of a long vowel was denoted by n, following the Indian pronunciation of Persian: e.g. ān=āṇ, niśān=niśāṇ, zamīn=zamīṇ, naśīn=naśīṇ, cūn=cūṇ: e.g. mhm'n'n (1)=mahimnṇ for mahimnaḥ; pu'n'myn (3)=punṇmī for punāmi; 'myn (6)=imṇ for imē; tmyn tr (15)=tvām itara- (pr. [tamītarə] ?); n'm'n (37)=-nāmā; mhmwnn (33)=mahimnṇ for mahimnō.

## § 13.

## The Consonants

क=k, g. The original of this MS. was probably written when Persian MSS. represented ك by ك: on the basis of this tradition, the confusion between g and k can be explained. Thus prygr' (2)=parikaraḥ; bhgty (10)=bhakti-; gnty (14)=kaṇṭhē; gwrwn(=t)y (14)=kurutē; etc. We find also q: -nls qndwbwgh' (10)=anala-skandha-vapuṣaḥ

ख = kh, gh, k : mwghrjty (5)=mukharayati; ghl' (12)=khalah; s'nkhnk (7)=sāṅkhyam; skh (30)=sukha; etc. x for ख is also found ṣ'x' (32)=śākhā.

ग=g, k: knkthn (3)=gṇa-kathana-; srkrw (3)=suragurōḥ; mrk (8)=mṛga; gr' (1)=giraḥ; jgt (6)=jagat; etc. also kh, gh : ghrhkhuk (16)=graha-gaṇam.

घ=gh: prygh (16)=parigha; ghtn' (23)=ghaṭanā.

ङ=ng, k=nk:w'ng (2)=vāṇ-. ङ appears to have become identified with the *anusvāra*.

च, ज: both indicated indifferently by c, j: jgt (2)=cakita; j (7)=ca: brnjy (10)=virīñci; kwjy dpy (15)=kvacid api; c'krty (19)=jāgarti; dhwrcty (34)=dhūrjaṭēḥ; etc. In r'y' (35)=rājā, we have y for ज—probably a vernacular pronunciation has here been followed.

छ=ch: prychtnk (10)=paricchēttun. There is no case of छ.

झ is indicated by n.

ट by t: ṭ is rare. Thus, ktl(7)=kuṭila; ghtw'nk (8)=kha-tvāṅga; jṭ't'ṭṭh' (16)=jaṭā-tāḍita-taṭā; ghtn' (23)=ghaṭanā; grwty (23)=karōṭi.



३=th, t: mds't'rnk (6)=(-m)adhiṣṭhātāram; 'nkkst (12) =-āṅguṣṭha; prst' (12)=pratiṣṭhā.

४=th is occurs only in the interior of words, and was pronounced as ४=r. In the MS. the ४ pronunciation is followed by representing it by r: thus jrdy' (4) =jaḍa-dhiyaḥ; kryr' (23) krīḍā; mrr'z(30)=mrḍāya. After the nasal ५, ४ retained its stop value, and this was denoted by d: 'k'nd'brhm'nd' (14)=akāṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa-. ४ is not found.

५ is denoted by n: grnn (22)=grṇan.

६=t, also १, and t ( ७ ): nytr (19)=nētra; pn'n myn १rthy (3)=punāmītyarthē; tw (4)=tava; j't'j- (4) =yat taj- In 'sd (32)=asita, and in one or two other places, we have d for ६.

७=th, t, १h: p[n]th'nk (2) =panthānam; '१h'w'e' (1)=athāvācyaḥ; dwstw (5) =duṣṭha-; n'१hk (22) =nātham.

८, ९=dh, d, indifferently: jgd (4)=jagad-; wrd (4)=varada; -wdy (1)=(a)vadhi; mdhw (3)=madhu; b | yjsey'syd (14)=vidhēyasyāsīd-; rdyng (8)=ṛddhim; dhdmty for ddhty (8)=dadhati. ९=d in htdy' (5)=hata-dhiyaḥ; cf. bhgty r'hd' (31)=bhaktir ādhād.

९=n; but in jdw'hwng (11)=yadbāhūn, we have ng for n, by mistaking the -n as -ṇ.

१० is represented by p, b, bh; ckrwpwx' (19)=cakra-vapuṣā; wpwgh' (10)=vapuṣaḥ; bthy (15)=pathayaḥ; bhrm (12)=parama; bhṭ (7)=patha (properly for bth or pth); bsbdy (27)=paśupati; py, bhy (1)=pi. In bk'rwph (14)=vikārō' pi, we have ph for १०.

११=f, fh, ph (generally f); fljwgy (20) =phala-yōgē; sfyt' (2)=sphītā; fhnin' (8) =phaṇinaḥ; flty (10) =phalati; wsfwrjṭ (11) =visphūrjita-.

१२=b, w: bly (11)=balēḥ; wl't (12)=balāt; w'hwng (11) =bāhūn.

१३=bh: bhn'n (4) =bhinnā-. Probably there was a spirant pronunciation of bh, for we find it frequently re-

presented by w (=some kind of labial spirant, v-like sound): t'wy'ng (10)=tābhyāṇ; rws' (23)=rabhasaḥ; bhrwny (7)=prabhinnē; dhnwyr (27)=dhvanibhr. It is to be noted that ञ=w occurs only in the interior of words.

म is indicated by m, but we have ञ=b in b'nk (=bh'nk) (28)=mahāṇ. Final m, altered to *anusvāra*, is found as nk (=ng) in -dnk (11)=idam.

य=y, j (and c=j): 'cnt'd (for 'jtn'd) (11)=ayatnād-; by'py (17)=vyūpi; js (15)=yasya; j'tng (22)=yātāṇ; jwty' (23)=yuvatayaḥ; jtw (6)=yatō. Interior intervocal य, single or double, usually=j: ernjwr, twjwnty (13)=caranayōr, tvayyavanatīḥ; bkrmjt' (12)=vikramayataḥ; bhj (14)=bhaya; bhrmjty (8)=bhramayati; mwghrjty (5)=mukharayati; twry jnty (27)=tūrīyan tē; nydst''j (29)=nēdiṣṭhāya. (Other examples in Verse 29) Interior y, where pronounced as y, is indicated by c: srw'c j (29)=śarvāya ca; mrr'c (30)=mrḍāya; śbāc (30)=śivāya. Cf. also bhavāya, harāya (30)=bhw'y, hr'y. In 'dwpri (10)=yadupari, we have 'ayn for y.

र=r, hr: bāwbdy rthwgr' (28)=paśupatiṛ athōgrāḥ; prwy-erly (28)=pravicarati; hrwm'n' (25)=rōmāṇaḥ; prhychn'm (26)=paricchinnam; nrhy (15)=narē; wrnhy (27)=varṇāḥ.

ल is represented by l: klys (31)=klēśa-; ktl (7)=kuṭīla; wl't (12)=balāt.

व had two pronunciations, w and b: the former is represented w, the latter by b, bh and p. Thus: w'myp (16)=vāmāiva; bhymyn 'sth'n' bty (28)=bhīmśānāv iti; wrd (4), brd (13)=varada; b' (6)=vā; rnbb (7)=(a)rṇava iva; wy'brty' (2)=vyāvṛtṭyā-; bsmy (4)=vismaya; srbw (28)=śarvō; -dpyt (23)=(-d)avāiti; n'm bhm khyng (23)=nāmāivam akhilāṇ.

श and ष are both indifferently written written ś, s: śdrśy (1)=sadṛśi; srw' (1)=śarvaḥ; twyswryng (5)=tavāi-

śvaryaṃ; snsyr̥t (6)=saṃśērata; sry (14)=śriya-; t̥ṣṭy (10)=tasthē; d̥ṣ'yw (11)=daśāsyō; sr̥ṣy (12)=śirasi.

𑂔 had the medieval North Indian pronunciation of 𑂔=kh (or was it the spirant x in early times?), which is represented by kh, gh and x. Thus: wdwghw (1)=viduṣō; ykh (2)=ēṣa; wxy' (3), wghy' (8) and bjy (for bxy) (9)=viṣaya-; t̥rkhw (4)=t̥isr̥ṣu; p̥wrg̥h (20) puruṣa; -rghs (21)=r̥ṣyasya; āmwkh twt (12)=amuṣya t̥vat-; rwgh't (35)=rōṣāt; mk'rkyd (39: for -khyd) (m-)akār̥sid; b̥ṣy ghw (15)=vaśisu; r̥gyu'm (21: for r̥ghyn'm = rk̥hyn'm)=r̥ṣiṇām. 𑂔 in consonant compounds: sp occurs as gh̥hp (=k̥hp) in dh̥nwgh̥h p'nr (22)=d̥hanuṣp̥ānēr, and in p̥gh' (?=pk̥hp') j̥dm̥by (23) puṣp̥āyudham api. But elsewhere we have ṣw for sp: p̥ṣw (31)=puṣpa; so p̥ṣwd̥h̥nt (33), p̥ṣwd̥nk (38), p̥ṣwd̥h̥nk- (39) for p̥ṣwd̥nt, and p̥ṣd̥uh (colophon) puṣpa-danta.

𑂔 = h: hr (1)=hara. It is dropped in an interior position: sm rt wt' (14)=saṃh̥ṛ̥tavatah; dd (=dw) ytr̥nk (22)=duhitaraṃ.

: (*visarga*): represented by h, sometimes wrongly placed: m̥nsyl̥hw (2)=manasayōḥ; nm̥w nm̥h (30)=namō namaḥ. Final ḥ is usually ignored: bly (11)=balēḥ; Final 𑂔: (aḥ)=ā:mahm̥n'n (1)=mahimnaḥ. It is ignored in dwst̥w (5)=duḥsthō.

(*anusvāra*): this developed a pronunciation which we find in Bengali, that of ñ (or ȳ)=𑂔; and this ñ value is denoted by ng, indifferently written ng, nk, k. Thus pth'nk (=pn̥th'n̥ng:2)=panthānaṅ; by'krw̥ṣyk (4)=vyākroṣiṃ; pd̥ng (3)=padam; twyt'nk b'nyk (3)=tvētām vāṇiṃ. Interior *anusvāra* before a stop also had the ñ pronunciation; cf. t̥ngtr (8)=tantra; nr (=tr) s̥ngtn (22)=trasaṃtam; wh̥ngtw̥ng (4)=vihaṃtum. In snsyr̥t (6)=saṃśērata, we have the present-day North Indian value of the *anusvāra* as n. In k'cn (5)=kāṃścin-, the *anusvāra* is omitted.

## §14. Compound Consonants.

य -y subscribed: at times simply doubled the preceding consonant; w'c' (1)=vācyah (pron. [va:cca:]); jdd śdrśy (1)=yady asadrśī; ks nwc' (3)=kasya na vacah, beside ksy=kasya in the same verse; n'dhrt (6)=nādr̥tya; b'st (9)=vyasta; śl'ghw (w)=ślāghyo; ws nn' (14)=vyasaniṇah; dwnk (18)=divyaṃ. Subscribed -y=j: tw(y)swrjng (4)=tavāiśvaryaṃ. In nthg (15)=nityaṃ, and probably also in 'sdh' (11)=āsādyā; we have subscribed -y denoted by h. Cf. dww (16)=dyām, and compare sbā, mrrr', (30)=śivāya, mṛḍāya.

व subscribed is denoted by w, but it is omitted in many cases: e.g. ś (10)=sva-; wdh' (20)=vadhvā; tng, tm (26)=tvam.

ख, ख्य śv, sy; as in the case of प above, had the kh value for the ś: sm 'ny kw'kyr' for sms'nykhw'kryr' (23)=śmaśānēśv ākriḍā; prhrgwd (25)=prahṛsyad.

म=sm: 'smn (28)=amuṣmin. म occurs as -mb- (9).

In the groups ह, ह, ह hm, hn, hr, we have the Sanskrit order maintained: the present vernacular pronunciations mh, nh, rh are absent: e.g. brhm mn (3)=brahman; dh[n] ghw mhn'y (23)=dhanuṣam ahnāya; hrw āb (for hrd 'b) (25)=hrada iva. But in ह hl, there was a change: 'lh'dnk (25)=āhlādan.

क्ष=kṣ: curiously enough, this group always is given the Bengali value of khy, which is written khy, gh, gyh=ghy: rkhy' (4)=rakṣā; khye kt (14)=kṣaya-cakita-; mhwgyh' (8)=mahōkṣah; dyghy' (38)=dikṣā; jgt / d(=r) gh' jh (16)=jagad-rakṣāyāi; rkhy'bhy (= 'rkhy'yy) (19)=rakṣāyāi; dghw (21)=dakṣō, dghy' (21)=dakṣah.

Obvious mistakes in transcription (e.g. wrong indication of aspiration by transposition of the consonant and h, omission of letters, length of preceding & in place of double consonants, etc.) need not be taken into detailed consideration.

## §15. Conclusions

The pronunciation followed in this Persian transcription of the *Śiva-mahimna-stōtra* evidently was the one current in Kashmir in the 16th-17th centuries. This had to some extent its peculiar features, which were absent in the pronunciation of Upper Gangetic India. The final *visarga* is a case in point. The nasalisation of long vowels in contact with a nasal n or m, and the absence of rigid consistency in differentiating the long quantity from the short, particularly in the case of i and u, are others. There was an agreement with the Upper Gangetic and Rajputana tradition, in pronouncing ṣ as kh; and y and v, when pronounced respectively as j and b, followed probably the Gangetic Indian rather than the North-Western tradition. Peculiar is the change of intervocal y to j. The spirant pronunciation of bh (which is indicated in a few cases by w), of ṁ as ng [ŋ], of kṣ as khy, and the interchange of ś and s, are points in agreement with Bengali-Assamese-Oriya. The gemination of the preceding consonant in a nexus of consonant + y, with the loss of the y, is also characteristic of Bengali. But it is noteworthy that in the groups hm, hn, the sounds are not transposed, as in Upper Gangetic pronunciation; although in hl, they are (lh). Then, hy=j, i.e. jjh, is again suggestive of Bengal pronunciation. That the tradition preserved some old characteristics of North-Western Indian folk-pronunciation (or Prakritic phonetics) is attested by the remarkable transcription of ṣp by św in four instances when the name 'Puṣpa-danta' is written, although in two instances (dhanuṣpāṇi- and puṣpāyudha)-ṣp is rendered as khp—an imitation of the Upper Gangetic pronunciation: cf. the change of the name 'Puṣpapura' to 'Peṣawar' Peshawar, through a pronunciation '\*Puṣwawura' (>\*Pśwa(w)urə> Peṣaur, Peṣawār).

Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

## BRIEF NOTES ON "NIRĀLĪ URDŪ" OF DELHI

Some years ago I came across a newly published Urdū book which had a rather striking title—"Nirālī Urdū" or 'New Urdū.' On reading that its author was a real Dilliwalā and a Bachelor of Arts I felt eager to go through the contents, hoping to find the new Urdū which the author had discovered and of which I was still unaware, though I too belonged to that ancient city where my people were settled for generations and where I had lived the greater part of my life. But very soon I was to be disappointed, and the thrill of a linguistic discovery had to subside, at least for the time being. After going through some pages it became clear to me that the book was only a collection of specimens of the language spoken by the working classes of Delhi. Those who live in that city are quite familiar with this dialect which is generally passed on as a slang, even "vulgar" form of the Standard Urdū or Hindustānī of Delhi. Therefore to Mr. Mughni must go the credit of recognising this true offspring of the soil and christening it as "Nirālī Urdū.\*"

Before coming to the study of "Nirālī Urdū" I find it necessary to give a sketch of its historical background which seems indispensable for an understanding of this dialect and an appreciation of it.

Delhi may rightly claim to be one of the most ancient and historical cities of Hindustan. Indraprastha, its ancient name, still recalls the hallowed memories of a glorious past of this great capital of the Indian Empire.

\* The name "Nirālī Urdū" has already been accepted by its speakers and is quite popular among an increasingly large number of readers of Mr. M. A. Mughni's book which has been reprinted several times since its first publication.

Much later, during Mogul rule, the city continued to enjoy its age-old prestige, with the added grandeur of the Mogul court under more than one emperor; and the present government, too, preferred to restore it to its old status of the Indian capital. It can be said, as a matter of course, that like other ancient capitals Delhi had its own civilization par excellence, which on its material side expressed itself in its manners and its arts and crafts. When the Moguls came to this country the local arts got a further impetus by the patronage of the new masters who slowly began to adapt themselves to the indigenous culture: and theirs too was not a very different culture, being predominantly of Aryan Iran, with a Semitic blending of Islam. They enriched it by certain foreign elements they had brought, and the whole finally crystallized out into the Medieval Hindu-Moslem Civilization of Northern India. Delhi undoubtedly continued to be main centre of this civilization till the old order died out and was replaced by the present one with the advent of the British. Whatever its other advantages, the establishment of English rule gave a death blow to the flourishing arts and crafts of Mogul India and to the means of livelihood of a large population of artisans—a process of gradual decay and disruption began, which, it seems they would hardly survive.

In the present city of Delhi there still exists a sufficiently large population of artisans and craftsmen who have been settled here from the days of the Mogul rule. These people used to form an important part of the city population in the past. They mostly consist of artists, scribes and calligraphers, musicians, embroiderers, makers of arabesque designs, silversmiths, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, gem-cutters, stone and brick masons, carpenters, dyers, leather workers, book-binders, potters, toy-makers and flower-sellers. To these may be added the followers of certain trades and callings who also form the older population of the city, namely, brokers, bakers,

cooks and pastry-makers, vegetable-sellers, butchers, fishermen, washermen, barbers and sweepers. This large, mostly illiterate, population consists of both Hindus and Musalmans. They have got their *pañchāyats* or caste-guilds (*birādarīs*, lit. 'brother-hoods'). About their social life, they are a feasting people, and there is an expressive local saying, "āṭh din aur nau melē" (eight days and nine fairs), which means that there are more festivals than one can cope with in Delhi. During the Mogul rule, when their business was flourishing, those people had their day, and they certainly engaged themselves at very many fairs and festivals, indulging in all sorts of merry making; and even now during their bad days, one can witness, inspite of packed cinema houses, their crowded wrestling matches, cock-fights, partridge-fights, ram-fights pigeon-racing, kite-flying tournaments, swimming fairs, "kabaḍī" and other more or less obsolete indigenous games. Such are the speakers of Nirālī Urdū—a happy-go-lucky mob, as yet rather medieval in character, but becoming slowly exposed to the forces of modern industrialism with the growth of usual evils of present day city life—factories, over-crowding, unemployment.

Nirālī Urdū is essentially a colloquial form of Urdū or Hindūstānī spoken in Delhi; it is perhaps too colloquial, hence very living. Its speakers number at a moderate estimate, forty to fifty thousand of people, mostly artisans and working classes dealt with above. The dialect may appropriately be described as a cockney form of the Standard Hindūstānī as spoken by the educated middle classes of Delhi. Nirālī Urdū\* practically relies upon the grammar

\* I can say about the educated Urdū-knowing people that there are fewer learned and pedantic words in their speech than there used to be a few decades ago; some of these words have been substituted by English words, and the rest have been confined to literature, where, again, they have been threatened by a growing school of young Urdū writers who are showing a decided preference for the actual spoken terms.



and idiom of the Standard Hindūstānī, yet, as far as I have been able to discover, there are a few instances of divergence.

In the present participle, the auxiliary 'huā' or 'huē' is invariably dropped and substituted by the particle 'mē' (e.g. Hind. daur̥tē huē=N. Urdū daur̥tē mē). This peculiar use of the particle 'mē' is a characteristic of Nirālī Urdū only. Another feature of the dialect is the extensive use of predicative adjective—almost rare in Hindūstānī—in preference to the passive participle with 'huā' (e.g. Hind. khulā huā hai=N. Urdū khulā hai 'open'). The method of counting by twenties is quite in vogue, but it exists side by side with the more usual way.

In phonology and vocabulary, of course, there is a well marked differentiation, which characterises Nirālī Urdū as a spoken form of the the Standard Hindūstānī. In its vocabulary the former is mainly coloured by its speakers who substitute locally popular words—even words from the neighbouring dialects—where the latter prefers comparatively learned and more respectable words from Persian and Arabic. The pronunciation of common Hindūstānī words is still more notable. Good Hindūstānī words of daily use get so much simplified in the mouths of these speakers that a Hindūstānī speaker (say from Allahabad) may even hesitate to identify them with his own familiar words. The principle underlying it is the same universal tendency to avoid cumbersome combinations of words and to reduce them to the simplest form intelligible, thus securing for the speaker, economy of effort with an unrestrained flow of speech. Nirālī Urdū like a living, mass dialect has no respect for uncommon and pedantic words; like a surgeon's knife which knows no special treatment for a royal patient or a commoner, it cuts short both learned and popular words to forms simpler and more living. We may say that here we have a living kind of "Prakritism" at work with the learned words of Hindūstānī (Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit).

We now come to consider the phonological characteristics of Nirālī Urdū, which are as follows:—

1. Loss of intervocalic 'h'.

This is certainly the most important and universal characteristic of Nirālī Urdū. Nearly all intervocalic 'h' sounds which are pronounced in Hindūstānī are dropped in N. Urdū, and if a hiatus occurs by such a dropping it is often avoided by substituting a diphthong in its place: e.g. Hind. tumhārā=N. Urdū tumārā (your); Hind. nahī=N. Urdū naī (no). Initial 'h' is not dropped, but final 'h' is often not pronounced, and an aspirated consonant occurring finally is deaspirated. Even interior aspirates are deaspirated: e.g. Hind. adhmūā=N. Urdū admuā (half dead).

2. Change of 'r' and 'n' into 'l'.

This change is hardly noticeable in original Hindūstānī words (some of which had already undergone this change at an earlier stage), but popular English words which have naturalised as Hindūstānī often undergo the above in Nirālī Urdū: e.g. Hind. minaṭ=N. Urdū milaṭ (minute), Hind. pāṭī=N. Urdū pālṭi (party), Hind. prōgrām=N. Urdū palōgrām (programme), Hind. sair=N. Urdū sail (excursion).

3. Assimilation.

Assimilation, both progressive and regressive, takes place in a large number of words: e.g. Hind. kitnā=N. Urdū kittā (how much), Hind. masjid=N. Urdū massit (mosque), Hind. thēṭar=N. Urdū ṭhēṭar (theatre).

\*It would be quite interesting to compare and contrast Nirālī Urdū with Calcutta Hindustani. In his learned article, *Calcutta Hindustani: A study of a Jargon Dialect*, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has for the first time presented in the *Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India* (Vol. II) an exhaustive study of the latter. Here it may suffice to say that these two dialects resemble each other in being dialects, and as a contrast while the former is a homogenous organic whole the latter is an ever fluctuating jargon with little or no grammar as its basis on which speakers weave a multi-coloured web each colouring it after his own mother-tongue.

## 4. Nasalisation.

Short or long vowels occurring at the end or in the middle are not distinctly pronounced in conversation. Sometimes these vowels are nasalised and uttered as such, e.g. Hind. *sōlah*=N. Urdū *sōlā* (sixteen), Hind. *pūchnā*=N. Urdū *pūchnā* (to enquire).

5. Metathesis. It is a common phenomenon noticed in many Hindūstānī words when used by Nirālī Urdū speakers, who often interchange syllables in a word, instinctively, or with an attempt to avoid combinations straining the speech organs: e.g. Hind. *patthar*=N. Urdū *phattar* (stone), Hind. *mizāj*=N. Urdū *mijāz* (temperament) Hind. *lakhnau*=N. Urdū *nakhlau* (Lucknow).

6. Dropping of a final consonant when followed by another consonant in the same syllable.

Whenever two consonants occur side by side at the end of a word in the same syllable, the final consonant is invariably dropped: e.g. Hind. *bandōbast*=N. Urdu *bandobas* (arrangement), Hind. *gōšt* (meat), N. urdū-*goś* Hind. *gōnd*=N. Urdū *gōn* (gum).

## 7. Lengthening of Consonants.

The lengthening of a consonant is generally the result of stress. A syllable ordinarily unstressed in Hindūstānī when stressed by Nirālī Urdū speakers invariably lengthens the consonant in that syllable, e.g. Hind. *makān*=N. Urdū *makkān* (home), Hind. *jagāh*=N. Urdū *jaggā* (place), Hind. *barābar*=N. Urdū *barabbar* (equal).

Same specimens of Nirālī Urdū with the corresponding Hindūstānī version:—

Nirālī Urdū:— <i>subā</i>				<i>nāū</i>	<i>baj</i>	<i>kar</i>
Hindūstānī:— <i>ṣuḥāḥ</i>				<i>nau</i>	<i>baj</i>	<i>kar</i>
N.U.	<i>kōi</i>	<i>pān</i>	<i>cār</i>	<i>milat</i>	<i>huē</i>	<i>thē, maī</i>
H.	<i>kōi</i>	<i>pāc</i>	<i>cār</i>	<i>minat</i>	<i>huē</i>	<i>thē, maī</i>
<i>zaldi-sē</i>		<i>bissrā</i>		<i>bānd</i>	<i>taiyār</i>	<i>hō</i>
<i>jaldi-sē</i>		<i>bistarā</i>		<i>bāndh</i>	<i>taiyār</i>	<i>hō</i>

giyā	aur	istēšan	kī	taraf	cal	parā.
gayā	aur	stēšan	kī	taraf	cal	parā.
jad	istēšan	par	paūcā	to	wā	baut
jab	stēšan	par	pahūcā	tō	wahā	bahut
bhīr	dekhī.	ye	sōc	kar	ke	pailē-sē
bhīr	dēkhī.	yeh	sōc	kar	keh	pahilē-sē
ṭikaṭ	lē	lenā	caiyē,		maī-nē	pāc
ṭikaṭ	lē	lenā	cāhiyē,		maī-nē	pāc
rupai-kā		lōṭ	jēb-sē		nikālā	aur
rupai-kā		nōṭ	jēb-sē		nikālā	aur
ṭikaṭ-ghar-kī			khīrkī	par	jā	kar
ṭikaṭ-ghar-kī			khīrkī	par	jā	kar
bābū-sē		keyā,	“Nakhilau-kā		ēk	ṭikaṭ
bābū-sē		kahā,	“Lakhnaū-kā		ēk	ṭikaṭ
dē	dījē”.	bābū	kainē		lagē,	“ṭikaṭ
dē	dījyē”.	bābū	kahnē		lagē,	“ṭikaṭ
pāo	ghanṭē	bad	milēgā”.			Nakhilau-kī
pāo	ghanṭē	bā’d	milēga”.			Lakhnaū-kī
gāri	sārē	bārā	bajē	chuṭṭi	hai.	maīnē
gāri	sārhe	bāra	bajo	chūṭṭi	hai	māivne
pūchā,	āj	istēšan		par	baut	lōg
pūchā	āj	stēšan		par	bahut	lōg
kyō	jamā	hai.	vinḍ-nē		keyā,	“tum
kyō	jamā	hai.	unhḍ-nē		kahā,	“tum
naī	jāntē?	Lāt	Sāb-kē		daftar-wālē	
nahī	jāntē?	Lāt	Sāhab-kē		daftar-wālē	
Shimlē	jā	rae	hai.	maīnē		jī-mē
Shimlē	jā	rahē	hai.	maīnē		jī-mē
keyā,	kuc	ḍar	naī,	achā		hai,
kahā,	kuch	ḍar	nahī,	acchā		hai,
hamārī		gārī-mē	bhīr	naī		hōgī.
hamārī		gārī-mē	bhīr	nahī		hōgī.

phir	maĩ	istēṣan-kī	sail	karnē		
phir	maĩ	stēṣan-kī	sair	karnē		
lagā.	tārā	tārā-ke	cērē	dikhnē		
lagā.	tarah	tarah-kē	cehrē	dēkhuē		
mō	āe.	Bāgālī,	Panjābī,	Madrāsī,		
mō	āe.	Bāgālī,	Panjābī,	Madrāsī,		
Yūrpīn,	aurat	marad,	baccē	buḍḍhē		
Yūrpīan,	‘aurat	mard,	baccē	buḥhē		
wā	maujūd thē.	jad	khūb	ghūm	liyā	
wahā	maujūd thē.	jab	khūb	ghūm	liyā	
tab	jā	kar	ṭikaṭ	liyā	aur	sīdā
tāb	jā	kar	ṭikaṭ	liyā	aur	sīdhā
gārī	par	paūcā.	tīsrē	darjē-kē	ēk	ḍibbē
gārī	par	pahūcā.	tīsrē	darjē-kē	ēk	ḍibbē
mō	ghus	giyā.	vis-mō	zādā	ādmī	
mō	dāxil (dākhil)	huā.	us-mō	ziādah	ādmī	
na	thē.	sād	kōi	das	bārā	musāfir
na	thē.	sāyad	kōi	das	bārā	musāfir
hōgē.	mērē	dainē	hāt-kō	ēk	ḍāgḍar	
hōgē.	mērē	dahinē	hāth-kō	ēk	dākṭar	
sāb	bāiṭhē	thē,	vin-kē	barabbar	mō	
sāḥab	baiṭhē	hue thē,	un-ke	barābar	mō	
ēk	Pūrabhyē	bhāī,	aur	zarā	agū	ēk
ēk	Pūrbī	bhāī,	aur	zarā	āgē	ēk
Mārwarī	sēth	apnē	bīvī	baccē		
Mārwarī	sēth	apnē	bīvī	baccē		
suddā	dō	bainc	ghērē	baiṭhē		
samait	dō	bainc	ghērē huē	baiṭhē		
thē.	setjī	tambākhū	urā	rae	thē.	
thē.	sethjī	tambākū	pī	rahēi	thē.	
ḍāgḍar	sāb-nē	mus-sē	kārōbar-kī			
dākṭar	sāḥab-nē	mujh-sē	kārōbar-kī,			

hālat	pūcchī,		phir	idhar	vidhar-kī		bāt
hālat	pūchī,		phir	idhar	udhar-kī		bāt
cīt	śurū	kar	dī.	muje	batō-mō		
cīt	śurū'	kar	dī.	mujhē	bātō kartē huē		
thōṛī	dēr	hōī	thī	ke	ittē-mō	gāḷ-	
thōṛī	dēr	hōī	thī	keh	itnē-mō	gāṛḍ-	
nē	sīṭī	dē	dī,	aur	rēl	rasān	rasān
nē	sīṭī	dē	dī,	aur	rēl	āhista	āhista
calnē	lagī.						
calnē	lagī.						

*English Translation :*

(It) was about four (or) five minutes past nine in the morning. I quickly bound my bedding, became ready, and left for the station. When I arrived at the station, I saw much crowding there. Thinking that I should book earlier I took out a five-rupee note from my pocket and having gone to the window of the booking-office, I said to the Babu "Please, give me a ticket up-to Lucknow." The Babu began to say, "The ticket will be issued after one quarter of an hour. The train for Lucknow leaves at half past twelve." I asked (him), "Why so many people are gathered at the station to-day?" He said (to me), "The people\* of the Lāṭ Sahib's† office are going to Simla. Don't you know?"

I muttered to myself, "No anxiety. It is good, there will be no crowding in our train". Then I began to walk about at the station. Variety of faces were seen—Bengalis, Panjabis, Madrasis, Europeans, men and women, children and old men were present there. When I had wandered a good deal, then I booked my ticket and straight reached the train, (and) entered a third class compartment. There were not many people in it. Perhaps, there were about ten or twelve passengers. On

\*Government servants—officers, clerks etc.

†Corrupted form of 'Lord Sahib' i.e. the Viceroy.

my right hand there was a doctor sitting; by his side an easterner† \*brother, and, a little further, a Marwari *sēṭh* (merchant) his wife and children were seated occupying two benches. The *Sēṭh* was enjoying a smoke. The doctor asked me about the condition of business, then began to talk about this and that. I had passed a short time in talking, when the guard whistled and the train began to move slowly.

2.	Garmī	garmi	tō	ittē	zōrē	kī	lū
	Gormiyō	mē	tō	itnē	zōr	kī	lū
caltī	hai	ke	cerā	bhulas	jātā	hai,	par
caltī	hai	keh	cehra	bhulas	jātā	hai,	lēkin
barsāt-kē	ātē	i	ṭhandī	hawā-kē	jhōkē	ānē	
barsāt-kē	ātē	hī	ṭhandī	hawā-kē	jhōkē	ānē	
lagtē	haī.	baīṭhak-kā		darwazza	khōl	kar	
lagtē	haī.	baīṭhak-kā		darwāza	khōl	kar	
kiyā	dekhtā	hū	ke	sāmnē-sē		ghāḡgōr	
kiyā	dekhtā	hū	keh	sāmnē-sē		ghan-	
ghaṭā	uṭhī	calī	ā	rai	hai,	ghaṭā	
ghaṭā	uṭhī	calī	ā	rahī	hai,	ghaṭā	
dēkh	kar	mus-sē	naī	reyā	giyā	visī	
dēkh	kar	mujh-ē	naī	rahā	gayā.	usī	
vakhat	apnē	dōs-kē	ghar	pañcā	aur	vis-	
vaqt	apnē	dōst-kē	ghar	pañcā	aur	us-	
sē	keyā,	vai	āj	tō	din	baut	acchā hai,
sē	kahā,	bhāi	āj	tō	din	bahut	acchā hai,
ṭhandī	ṭhandī	hawā	callai.	hai,	kālī	ghaṭā	
ṭhandī	ṭhandī	hawā	cal rahī	hai,	kālī	ghaṭā	
āi	vi	ai,	aur	ab	thōṛī	dēr-mē	mē baras-
āi	huī	hai,	aur	ab	thōṛī	dēr-mē	mē baras-
nē	lagēgā.	āj	tō	kutab	calnā	caiyē.	vā
nē	lagēgā.	āj	tō	qutub	calnā	cāhiyē.	wahā

† A United Provinces man.

\* Used colloquially.

jharnē-kī	sail	karēṅgē.	barsāt	barsāt	kutab
jharnē-kī	sair	kapēṅgē	barsāt	barsāt	qutub
mē	ajīb	bahār	hōtī	hai: jangal-mē	cārḍ taraf
mē	'ajīb	bahār	hōtī	hai; jangal-mē	cārḍ taraf
dūr	tak	sabza i	sabza	dikhāi	paṛtā hai; ghāṭā
dūr	tak	sabza hī	sabza	dikaī	dētā hai; ghaṭā
chāi	vī;	nannī	nannī	būdiyā	paṛ raī; upar-sē
chāi	hui;	nannhī	nannlū	būdiyā	paṛ rahī; upar-sē
bādal-kī	garaj,	kyā	batāyā	jāy	ek 'ajīb i
bādal-kī	garaj,	kiyā	batāyā	jāy	ek ajīb hī
samā	hōtā	hai.			
samā	hōtā	hai.			

*English Translation :*

As long as it is summer the hot wind blows so furiously that the face is scorched, but as soon as the rainy season comes, cool blasts of wind begin to blow. On opening the door of the sitting room, I saw dark clouds (of rain) rising from the front. Seeing the clouds I could not contain myself. That very moment I went to my friend's house and said to him, "Brother, it is a fine day: a cool breeze is blowing: the dark clouds have come, and now within a short time it will begin raining. To-day we must go to the Kutab (for excursion). There we would enjoy the sight of the big fountain (running). During the rainy season it is beautiful in the Kutab—in the four directions up to a long distance only greenery is to be seen: the (rain) clouds spread (over the sky), and then the rumble of the clouds overhead. How can (any one) describe it—a scene so wonderful?"

3. Jārē	kē	mārē	kapkapī	lag	rai	thī,
Jārē	kē	mārē	kapkapī	lag	rahī	thī
magār	ham-nē	vi	keyā	ke	faujḍ-kī	salā-
magar	ham-nē	bhī	kahā	keh	faujḍ-kī	salā-



mī	zurūr	dēkhōgē.	visī	sail-kē	kāran	
mī	zurūr	dēkhōgē.	usī	sair-kē	khātīr (xātīr)	
āj	mērī	Sukkhā-sē	jhaṛap	hōtē	hōtē	rai gaī.
āj	mērī	Sukkhā-sē	jhaṛā	hōtē	hōtē	rah gayā.
vo	bolā,	Jarman-kī	laṛāi-mē	sab	faujē	
woh	bolā,	Jarman-kī	laṛāi-mē	sab	faujē	
kaṭ	kaṭā	gaī,	ab	kiyā	rakkhā	hai? maī-nē
kaṭ	katā	gaī,	ab	kyā	rakkhā	hai? maī-nē
keyā,	wāh	Jarman-kī	laṛāi-mē	tō	hamārā	
kahā,	wāh	Jarman-kī	laṛāi-mē	tō	hamārē	
Hindūstānī	sipāi	mārā	geyā,	kuch	bhī	hō
Hindūstānī	sipāhī	mārē	gayē,	kuch	bhī	hō
ham	gorō-i-kī	salāmī	dēkhōgē,	jō	tujē	canā
ham	gorō-hī-kī	salāmī	dēkhōgē,	jō	tujhē	calnā
hō	tō	cal,	naī	tō	maī	ōklā calā jāūgā. ittē
hō	tō	cal,	nahī	tō	maī	akelā calā jāūgā. itnē
-mē	wo	calnē-kō	rāzī	hō	geyā,	aur ham
-mē	woh	calnē-kē-liyē	rāzī	hō	gayā,	aur ham
dōnō	paraiṭ-kē	maidān	gaē.	wō	pe	
dōnō	paraiṭ-kē	maidān	gayē.	wahā	par	
hazārō	ādmī	thā.	ittī	bhīṛ	ke	khawē sē
hazārō	ādmī	thē.	itnī	bhīṛ	keh	khawē sē
khawā	chiltā	thā,	rastā	calnā	muṣkil	thā.
khawā	chiltā	thā,	rāstā	calnā	muṣkil	thā.
ham	ēk	darakh-kē		nīcū,	chāyā-mē	
ham	ēk	darakh-kē (daraxī-kē)		nīcū,	chāw-mē	
khaṛē	hō	gaē,	dēkhtē	kyā	haī,	ke
khaṛē	hō	gayē,	dēkhtē	kiyā	haī,	keh
bīsiyō	paltān,	risālē	aur	sawār	lain	bānde
bīsiyō	paltānē,	risālē	aur	sawār	lāin	bandhe
khaṛē	thē.	vin-mē	gōrē	vi	thē	aur Hīn-
khaṛē	thē.	un-mē	gōrē	bhī	thē	aur Hind-

dustānī	vi.	zarī	dēr	pīchū	vinḍ-nē
dūstānī	bhī.	zarā	dēr	ba'd	unhḍ-nē
bandūkhḥ		uthāī	aur		lambarwar
bandūqḥ		uthāī	aur		nambarwār
tīn	dafā	bār	chōṛī.	phir	sab-kē
tīn	dafa'	bār	chōṛī.	phir	sab-nē
sab-nē	hurrā	kī,	aur	lagē	calnē.
	hurrā	kī,	aur	calnē	lagē.
nē	mus-sē	keyā,	salāmī	hō	cukī,
nē	mujh-sē	kahā,	salāmī	hō	cukī,
tum	ghar-kō		calō.		
tum	ghar		calō.		

*English Translation:—*

(Although) we were trembling due to (severe) cold weather, yet we said that we would certainly go to witness the military salute. With regard to seeing that very sight I was about to have a hitch with Sukkhā. He said, "The army has been all killed in the German War\*, and now what was there?" I said "Well, in the German War, our Indian soldiers were killed. However we would witness the salute by white soldiers. If you want to go, come, otherwise I will go alone." Meanwhile he agreed to go, and both of us went to the parade ground. There were thousands of men there, such a crowd that shoulder touched shoulder. It was difficult to walk even. We stood in the shade under a tree. (And) we saw scores of platoons, regiments and cavalry, men standing in line. Among them there were white soldiers, and Indians as well. After a short while they lifted the guns and fired three times in order. And then they all said "Hurrah", and began to march. Sukkhā said to me, "The salute is over, and now you go home".

M. Hamidullah

A popular name for the last Great War.

## THE NON-FINITE VERB AND PERIPHRAISIS OF TENSES AND MOODS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

§ 1 From the very beginning in MIA, the passive past participle in *-ta* with transitive verbs is regularly used for the present and the past perfect. Examples are quite numerous in the Aśokan Inscriptions. Thus: *iyaṃ dhammalipī devānaṃ priyena priyadasinā rāṇā lekhāpitā* "this edict has been caused to be inscribed by the beloved of gods, king Priyadasi" (G I 1-2, S,M, K,I,J); *mayā idaṃ āñapitaṃ* "this has been ordered by me" (G II 1, S;M,K,D,J have me instead of mayā); *ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ* "so much good has been done by me" (G V 2, S,M,C;D has me); etc. The active use of this participle is indeed rather rare, and in that case it is often followed by verb substantive.

Thus: *pakaṃte husaṃ* "I had set out" (Bra 1 2, Sid); *sumi hakaṃ sagha upete* "I had joined the Saṃgha" (Rup I 1); so *tathā karu ilokacasa āradho hoti* "by doing that he has won (i.e., wins) this world" (G XI 4, K; S and M have *aradheti*); *hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajaṃtaṃ hidata(pāla)te āladhe hoti* "thus doing (he) wins this world and the next" (but if *anupaṭipajaṃtaṃ* is an accusative absolute, "to (him) doing thus this world and the next are won") (D-T VII 31).

*bhaṭārakā āṇṇatiyā ca gato smim varṣāratum mālayehi rudhaṃ utamabhādraṃ mocayituṃ* "by the order from the lord (I) had gone to release the chief of the Uttama-bhādras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas" (Nasik Cave Inscription no. 10, Ep. Ind., VIII.); *tato smiṃ gato poṣṣarāṇi* "thence (I) had gone to Poṣṣaras (tanks)" (ibid.). See Geiger, *Pali Litteratur*

*und Sprache*, p. 136 f.; Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen*, p. 362; *An Outline Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit*, p. 56.

Cf. *Mahābhārata* : toye patito' smi "(I) had fallen in water" (2.50.29); lalāṭenāsmi vikṣataḥ "(I) had been wounded at the forehead" (2.50.32); etc.

There are a few instances in *Mahābhārata* where the gerundial in *-tavya* and *-ya*, followed by the verb substantive, denotes the sense of the future perfect. Thus: eteṣām apy avekṣārtham trātavyāsmi "(I) should have been protected for nursing these" (3.12.72); so' smi vācyas tvayā "(I) should have been told by you" (6.58.38); etc.

§ 2. In Nīya Prakrit the third person plural present affix *-anti* was extended to the past tense originating from the past participle. This phenomenon must have been present in the Eastern Prakrit also, as it happens in Bengali, Assamese, Maithili and Magahi (vide *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 986).

Examples: ahuno supiye [sa]rvi gaṭamti "now all the Supiyas are gone" KI 272; khotaniya re[me]ṇammi stora-bala kritamti "Khotanis have created in Remena a cavalry force" KI 376; tade supiyehi agasitamti "thence they were carried off by the Supiyas" KI 212; sacchi iśa nasti hotamti "there were no witnesses here" KI 124; etc.

In the third person singular no personal termination was used; at least there is no clear instance of this. The simple part participle, with or without the verb substantive, but generally strengthened by the pleonastic affix *-ka*, was used. Thus: yatra purva asidāe huanṭi tatra asitamti "where (they) were previously settled there (they) have settled" KI 272; eṣa khotamnammi dutiyāya gada "he went as envoy to Khotan" KI 14; eḍasa lyipeyasa putra dutiyāya gataga "the son of this Lyipeya has gone as envoy" KI 5; yaṃ kala kāla kirtēya khotamnammi dutiyaye gataga āsi "when Kāla Kirtēya had gone as envoy to Khotan" KI 637; tasa uṭa praceyā raya-sacchi lihitaḡa kridaga "regarding that (or, his) camel a document wit-

nessed by the king has been procured" KI 165; *eda amna na anidae* "that crop has not been brought" KI 309; etc.

In the first and second persons the forms of the verb substantive, *asmi*, *smaḥ* and *asi* respectively, are added. Thus: *yahi anati didemi* "when I have given an instruction" KI 272; *vimñadi-lekha prahidesi* "you have sent a written report" KI 272; *ekisya etasa raja picavidemi* "to him singly I have entrusted the government" KI 272; *parimargidesi* "you have sought" KI 578; *visajidama* "we have sent" KI 358; *ye dinasi* "which you gave" KI 358; *puno eda vivada tuo amñatha kiḍesi* "but this dispute you have settle otheawise" KI 46; *tena ṣademi tahi paride aroga srudemi* "so I am glad (that) I have heard wellbeing from you" KI 139; [*yam*] *kāla tuo rajadharaga hudesi* "since you have become the governor" KI 309; etc. This idiom, however, occurs in most of the MIA. dialects.

§ 3. It is quite strange that the possessive (in *-vant*) of the passive past participle, which is prescribed by Pāṇini as a substitute for the finite verb in the perfect tense and which is quite abundant in classical Sanskrit, does not occur at all in MIA. (There is, however, one instance in *Āyāraṅga-sutta* (1.7.8.8) where *puṭṭavaṃ* has been used in the passive sense, i.e., for *puṭṭha*! See Pischel, p. 368.) That it must have occurred in some MIA. (possibly in the extreme North-West) is certain since it occurs in Khotanese. Thus *pharāka ā'sīrya..... hūṣṭā tsūūmdā* (= *bahava ācāryāḥ.....tatra cyutavantaḥ*) "many (religious) masters came there" (*Vajracchedikā*; Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1912, p. 76); *b'ysā pā ttirā-ṣa namasyāṃpā* (= *brahmaṇaḥ pādaḥ śirasā namasyitavantaḥ*) "(they) bowed to the feet of the Lord with (their) head" (*ibid.*); etc. See *ibid.*, p. 115 f.

Though the possessive past participle with the ending *-tavant* does not occur in the specimens of MIA. known upto the present time, yet it is certain that the possessive past participle was not unknown in the literary Prakrits.

As a matter of fact the possessive past participle ending in -ailla or -aalla (<-*ta-la*) must have been very frequent in the Eastern Prakrits at least. It was also used as the simple preterit or perfect. The affix for the simple past in modern Māgadhī vernaculars, -ala or -ila, is derived from -*ta-la* (-*ila*).

§ 4. In OIA. there was no progressive tense as such. With durative verbs the present indicative played also the function of the present progressive. In Vedic Prose the progressive sense was sometimes expressed by periphrasis. Thus: *gacchann eti* "is going (or coming)"; *kurvann āste* "is doing"; *dāsyān bhavati* "will be giving" etc.

Similar idiom is not at all rare in MIA. where the sense of the progressive is expressed by the present participle or the conjunctive followed by the verb substantive (as, *bhū*) or by *vṛt*, *sthā*, *car* (also *vi-car*) and *vi-hṛ*. Thus: *sibbaṃ acchasi* "(thou) art sewing" (*Jātaka* iv 10. 36); *tvam nihaṇaṃ pure cari...sūkare* "formerly you went on hunting (wild) boars" (*Jātaka* ii 3. 97.); see Geiger, p. 137.

*bhogabhogāṃ bhuñjamāṇī viharai* "(she) went on (i.e., was) enjoying various pleasures" (*Kalpasūtra* p. 36); *paccapubhavamāṇe viharai* "is experiencing" (*Vipāka-sūtra* 1.1.20); *karemaṇe viharai* "used to do" (ibid. 1.1.23); *annayā ca sohammasabhāe.....sohammino soyāmaṇināḍayaṃ peccanto acchai* "one day the lord of Sohamma was witnessing (the performance of) the Saudāmini play in (his) court Sohamma" (Jacobi, *Māhārāṣṭrī Erzählungen*, p. 26); *tattaṃ velaṃ gāanto naccanto homa* "let (us) be singing and dancing till then" (*Pratimā-nāṭaka*, p. 50); etc. The following instance is interesting in view of the fact that the verb substantive has been used with a finite verb: *sisiraṇmi eadā bhagavaṃ chāyāe jhāti āsī ya* "sometime in the cold season the Lord was meditating in the shade" (*Āyāraṅga-sutta* 1.8.4.3).

yo mahi iśa bharyā gilani tusuhu prasadena jivamtiye asti "that here wife of mine, Gilani, is living (or, alive) by your grace" KI 157. khāyamāno acchai "(he) used to eat....." *Vāsudevahinī* (= VH) p. 62; tumam.....suvento acchasi "you are sleeping" *ibid.*, p. 117; etc.

Cf. prechann āste "had been asking (or, used to ask)" (Mbh. 5.96.6); japann āssva "go on muttering" (Mbh. 7.78.21).

§ 5. The present participle is sometimes used in place of the finite verb, for the present, future or conditional (see the *Vārttika Sūtra* "māny ākrośe" under Pāṇini 3.2.124). Thus: eso bhāro hu tumha paḍihamto "this burden appears to (i.e., is tackled by) you" (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, B. 13: Ep. Ind., VIII, also see the next verse); pattia ṇa pattiyaṇtī jai "know (then) if (you) shall not come" (*Gāthāsaptasatī* 3.16); ṇa kuṇanto vvia māṇam ṇisāsu suhasuttadaravivuddhānam suṇṇaia-pāsa-parimūsaṇa-veaṇṇā jai si jāṇanto "had he known the misery of lying (on bed) with the side (i.e., the lover's place) vacant when (girls) are partially awake after a peaceful sleep, he would not have been cross at night" *ibid.*, 1.26); jai na huntav etthu tuhū pattu.....haū hoṇtu...vivannu "had you not arrived here I would have been in trouble" (*Sanatkumāra-caritam*, Jacobi, p. 16).

jai puṇa muhamettabaddho payattam sesena sarireṇa abaddhena karento tato nissaranto dukkhamaraṇam "had he, stuck only on the face, made attempts then he would have escaped a painful death" VII p. 6; varamesa gihe bhaṇḍārasālāe acchanto "he should better stay in the storeroom" VH p. 51; kevalam tume ceva eyam saṇḍattam aṇṇo mamam na jivanto "you only have said thus; another would not have outlived" VII p. 51; sisupālam hantūṇa vi tumam kaṇho geṇhantago "even slaying Śiśupāla Kṛṣṇa shall take you" VH p. 80; etc. In the following instance the pr. part. is used as a substantive: ee guṇadosā amārenta-mārentāṇam "this is the virtue and vice of the non-killer and the killer" VH p. 295.

Note the following periphrastic idiom in Niya Prakrit: *evaṃ ca janaṃdo bhavidavya*, "thus he (or you) should know" KI 272 (cf. 25, 450).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *gate pitāmahe rājā cintāśoka-samanvitaḥ | niśśvasann uṣṇam asakṛt tam evārthaṃ vicintayan || kathaṃ tu daivaṃ śakyeta pauruṣeṇa prabūdhitum | avāśyam eva bhavitā yad uktam paramarṣiṇā ||* "when the grandfather had left the king, full of anxiety and sorrow, repeatedly sighed hot (sighs) and (thus) pondered over the matter: How can fate be averted by manly activity? So what the great sage had said must happen" (2.46. 19-20).

§ 6. The gerundial infinitive or the final dative with *nomina actionis* stands for optative. The infinitive in -um (<-tum) with the verb *kṛp* also is a parallel idiom. Thus: *anohaṃtarā ee no ya ohaṃ tarittac* "they (are) those that do not cross the flood, nor can (they) cross it (lit., nor for crossing the flood over)" (*Āyāraṅga-sutta* 1.2.3.6); *muhuttaṃ avi no pamādāe* "(he should) not (be) careless even for a moment" (ibid. 1.2. 1,3); *kappai no kappai no pāuṃ* "it is possible for us, it is possible for us to drink (i.e., we may drink)" (ibid. 1.1.3.7). See Geiger p. 151.

§ 7. The gerundive in -*tavya* very frequently stands for the optative implying obligation. Thus: *na ca samājo katavyo* "a Samāja should not be held" (G I 4, S,K,D,J); *iyaṃ lip(i) t(i)sanakhatena sotaviy(ā)* "this edict should be read on (every) Tīṣya day" (D Sep I 17, J); *mātāpitisu susūsitaviye* "(one) should obey the parents (lit., to the parents (it should) be obeyed)" (Bra II 9, Sid, J-R); *sacaṃ vataviyaṃ* "truth should be spoken" (Bra II 9-10, Sid, J-R); etc.

Once the gerundive stands for the aorist (injunctive) with the prohibitive particle *mā*: *hīni ca mā locetavyā* "difficiency must not be encouraged" (G IV 11-12; S,M,K,D,J have aorist *loceṣu* or *alocayisu*).

The connection between the gerundive (or the future



passive participle) with the future is rather close, and therefore it sometimes appears for the latter. Thus: *silā-thambhasi lākhāpetavaya* (-*lekhāpetaviye*) “(this purport) shall be made to be inscribed on stone pillars” (Rup I 5). The future in the modern Māgadhi vernaculars originated from the gerundive.

§ 8. In Niya Prakrit too the gerundive in *-tavya* implies obligation, command etc. But here it has gone further; it was fast approaching the active stage, as a substitute for the finite verb in the active construction. Thus: *eta karyami tuo cita kartavo* “in this matter you should pay attention” KI 165; *tena karamna tuo cimdido* “for that you should think” KI 160; etc.

Note the following periphrastic idioms in Niya Prakrit: *emeva iśa srunanaya kartavo* “(it) should forthwith be brought to hearing here” KI 541 (cf. 83,130); *janamdo bhavidavya* “(he) should know (or, be informed)” KI 272; *tumahu upaśamgidavya huati* “you had apprehension (of Supiyas)” KI 272 (cf. 85,139); *caḍodade valaga dadavo hoati* “from Cadota a rider should have been given” KI 14; *gaṇḍavya huati* “was to have gone” KI 722; etc.

Sukumar Sen



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## Corrections

### Notes on the Rangpur Dialect (Page 105 ff.)

1. Page 113 under (7) from line 10—13 should be read under (8): Treatment of Aspirates.
2. Page 117 line 7 read “não” for “nāo”. Page 117 line 15 read “powder” for “power”
3. Page 124 line 1 read “of place” for “of time”.
4. Page 119 line 33 read “māiṅ” for “māiy”.
5. Page 122 line 3 read “tāiṅ” for “tāiy”.
6. Page 123 line 17 read “jhāmār” for “jhāmar”.
7. Page 123 line 27 read “kāiṅ” for “kāiy”.
8. Page 127 line 30 read “bail or bole” for “beil”.







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